Leninist Scientific Concept of IMPERIALISM

Based on the Scientific Concept of Imperialism

Is China Imperialist?

Erdogan A

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Leninist Scientific Concept of Imperialism.

Is China Imperialist?

Preface

To grasp the nuances of this book's messages, one needs a Leninist theoretical foundation.

We all acquire preconceived perspectives at an early age, before we are theoretically mature, and are influenced by those we trust and believe (for good reasons in most cases). These **indirectly acquired perspectives are very difficult to change**. I know it because I was one of the first ones among them who spoke of "China's imperialism" in the context of not allowing the "pro-China group" to the planned mass protest in an organizing committee meeting in which the local representatives of almost all of the parties and organizations were present (I am not sure of the date, but it was the early 1970s). It was not because I had "theoretical knowledge", but an acquired perspective from the older comrades.

I carried that **acquired perspective** till I got mature not only in age but in a theoretical sense, and started doubting the correctness of that "conclusion". I haven't acted on my "doubt" when I get really old for the reasons: 1) **I was not sure either way** because I did not have sufficient theoretical accumulated data on the subject, and verifiable data on China, 2) **I was working on the declassified Soviet Archives** and combing data from them related to Lenin and Stalin; speeches, correspondence, conversations, CC secret meeting transcripts, etc.

I started **collecting theoretical data on China** three years or so ago in order to study the subject myself and make up my own mind. **Articles on the subject published in a Turkish magazine by a dozen writers—which, like all such accusations, relied on bourgeois sources and abstract formulas—triggered me to focus on the subject and write an article.**. I do know of, and have respect for, some of the writers since the late 1960s and early 1970s, and have come to know of the rest in later years. So **this is not "criticism" of their revolutionary personalities, but of their analysis and perspectives** on this subject. Unlike the Western know-it-all petty bourgeois so-called "Marxist-Leninists" **who dismiss every revolutionary** (even Dimitrov and Molotov) due to some "differences" in their assessments on a few subjects, and label them personally as revisionist, I have learned to have an overall look at their lives and struggles, and I call them comrades **as long as they remain on the revolutionary path.** But we must also warn that the **practical effect of their arguments**—serving imperialist propaganda—**is objectively against the interests of the working class.** This is not a personal attack; it is a scientific assessment of the consequences of their position. I always keep Lenin's assessment of Rosa Luxemburg in mind;

> **Eagles may at times fly lower than hens, but hens can never rise to the height of eagles."** Rosa Luxemburg was **mistaken** on the question of the independence of Poland**; she was mistaken** in 1903 in her appraisal of Menshevism**; she was mistaken** on the theory of the accumulation of capital**; she was mistaken** in July 1914, when, together with Plekhanov, Vandervelde, Kautsky and

> others**, she advocated unity** between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks**; she was mistaken** in what she wrote in prison in 1918 (she corrected most of these mistakes at the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919 after she was released). But **in spite of her mistakes, she was—and remains for us—an eagle.** " *Lenin, Notes of a Publicist*

If you are a sincere Marxist-Leninist, leave your preconceived perspective while reading this book. **Holding** on to them will prevent objective reading and make you 'look for statements' to dismiss the overall argument.

Don't take my words at face value; make your own judgment. For the quotes given, check the entire article by Lenin or Stalin, whatever the case may be, to determine whether the quote is cherry-picked or within the context of the full text.

My main purpose in writing this book is to lay the foundation for the Marxist-Leninist to go back to reading Lenin and Stalin (because their work is resourceful) and shake off the laziness. A **Marxist-Leninist does not know "everything"**; that is why they constantly study Marxism-Leninism from its main sources and research to deepen their knowledge, which is a responsibility and an unending task.

Introduction

Marxist-Leninists do not rely on bourgeois sources for their search for truth. They seek and speak of objective realities and objective truth, and they expose the manipulative, learned-by-rote, or false narratives and "gossip"- based "evidence" fabricated by capitalists, especially US imperialists and their left-

disguised lackeys, and disseminated for propaganda. At the end of 1971, two days before 1972, Enver Hodja said;" **difficulty is that we do not really know the internal situation of China,** we know it only at the propaganda level. But what can we do?" Now we live in an entirely new era with mind-boggling technology and a web of information at least to be informed and get some objective facts.

Marxist-Leninists recognize and rely on objective sources independent of subjectivity to seek and determine objective reality, which alone can give us objective truth. General knowledge consists mainly of relative truths. It is a step toward mastering absolute truth in general and objective truth in any given particular. As Lenin points out, " **absolute truths are historically conditional**, but the existence of this truth is unconditional...as in all other areas of science, **one should reason dialectically**, that is, **not assume** our knowledge is ready and unchanged, but analyze how knowledge comes from ignorance, how incomplete, inaccurate knowledge becomes more complete and more accurate." *Lenin, Materialism and Empirio-criticism.*

Marxism-Leninism **without the application of dialectics of Marxism** turns it into a soulless theory learned by rote, abstract slogans and statements repeated on any given issue. Applying dialectics, however, **requires thorough analysis,** not ready-made schemas that fit all conditions and situations in all countries, **regardless of their past and present.** Objective assessments do not rely on "assumptions" about the far future, but on existing concrete conditions and situations.

> "Marx's method consists, first of all, in taking due account of the **objective content** of a historical process **at a**

> **given moment,** in definite and concrete conditions." *(Lenin: Under a False Flag)*

"Genuine dialectics," Lenin wrote, "proceeds by means of a thorough, **detailed analysis of a process in all its concreteness.** The fundamental thesis of dialectics is: **there is no such thing as abstract truth, truth is always concrete."** *(Lenin, One Step Forward, Two Steps Back)*

> "We are revolutionary Marxist-Leninists," said Kuusinen, "and we always start out from a correct scientific analysis of the economic and political situation and of the tendencies of its development. We repudiate all subjectivism and its arbitrariness in appraising the objective situation. " *Kuusinen, From 13th Plenum of ECCI*

Politically, **sophistry** is a calculated technique of magnifying **general points** and assumptions and obscuring or minimizing particular points, concrete conditions, and objective truth. Revisionists and the bourgeois Liberal tendency defend their theoretical revisionism with **clever sophistry**. Sophistry is **the substitution of eclecticism for dialectics**.

> " Those theories made sophistry of Marxism and falsified it (sometimes unconsciously), said Lenin, " **appeared to be Marxist** and, by referring to Marx", tried to **deny the application of Marx's theory.** *(Lenin, Apropos of an Anniversary")*

The revolutionary **struggle is waged through the inseparable unity of economic(democratic), political (socialist), and ideological struggle.** The longest-lasting and, I believe, the crucial one is the ideological struggle.

The theories -generalized assessments of **Lenin and Stalin are the guides to practice to follow and stand to be taken all through the struggl**e. Any fundamental deviation from those guiding theories will weaken the struggle not only in particular but in general. **That's why all through its history the ideology and the theories of Leninism have been overtly and covertly subjected to attacks** from the capitalists and their lackeys. It's easier for any socialist leaning person to figure out the reactionaries, but **it is very difficult to single out those concealed ones**.

Similarly, so often, it is difficult to distinguish the correct assessment from the wrong ones made by sincere socialists. Because the **ideological struggle within** the working-class movement has been transformed into **ideological warfare worldwide,** with the participation of powerful states and state institutions, media, academia, think tank groups, and pseudo-leftist groups formed, organized, or supported by capitalist intelligence agencies. **This warfare is conducted through a 'fifth column' of individuals and organizations that present themselves as Marxist-Leninists** while serving the interests of imperialism. Some are conscious agents; others are unconscious tools of bourgeois ideology. Because they control and dominate information, data, and knowledge, **their perspectives, under left disguise, will inevitably penetrate the** left's perspectives. The **historical example** is the attack on Lenin through Stalin. They are highly experienced and have the means and methods. If one, for opportunistic reasons**, cannot attack Lenin directly,** one focuses on Stalin; if one **cannot attack Stalin,** one attacks Dimitrov or Molotov.

It is an ideological warfare for the capitalists waged by the US imperialists and their NATO allies; **to divide, fracture and**

create animosity even conflict within the socialist parties and organizations, to revise the socialist ideology in a way that will not present any danger to their existence; **"socialism is impossible in one country,**" and **"anti-imperialist wars are a thing of the past"** make up the foundation of the theories in the service of capitalists. **Even if they don't blatantly defend that,** throw ultra-left slogans, what they defend in their practical assessments, their approach and stands **end up in either one of those conclusions**. It is not a coincidence that a know-it-all pseudo socialist, in a condescending way, argues while sipping his whisky; "Cuba is not socialist", " North Korea is a kingdom (or they invent some new terminology just for it).

As I have noted above, they have a century-old experience and lots of "experts": some paid, others looking for recognition by them for various reasons. It is not an easy war against those who not only possess the means and methods but also the people to use them skillfully. That's why the success of their work in revising Leninist theories and their propaganda against socialist, socialist-tendency, anti-imperialist, and anti-fascist countries and forces is reflected in the assessments and arguments of sincere socialist parties, organizations, and individuals.

They distort the meaning of so many **fundamental socialist term**s in a way that will make their arguments convincing: state, bureaucracy, socialism, fascism, imperialism and various others. I take up the c**oncept of imperialism** in this book based on Lenin's **scientific definit**ion to clear up the confusion and correct the approach to the constantly repeated rote "conditions" for the definition. It is not my "opinion"; it is how Lenin and Stalin define it in its totality. We cannot look for **a "prescription" they**

wrote that spells out exactly what we want to see, especially when they already explain it in various articles numerous times.

The **second and most important subject is the question of "China" being an imperialist** country, which I was claiming in the early 1970s not because I had done research on that but just because my comrades I trusted were calling it so.

All the arguments I have read in reference to "Chinese imperialism" rely on bourgeois gossip and have no definite theoretical support but are cherry-picked. In most cases, abstract theoretical reasoning contradicts their claim. Lenin had stated that:

> "Abstract theoretical reasoning may lead to the conclusion at which Kautsky has arrived—in a somewhat different fashion but **also by abandoning Marxism**." *Lenin, preface to Nikolai Bukharin's pamphlet, Imperialism and World Economy.*

As I read Lenin and especially Stalin multiple times, **I started doubting the correctness** of that conclusion. After **reading numerous such arguments** on the subject and **not finding a single convincing theoretical** or **concrete piece of evidence for their "wild" claims**, I decided to study the subject three years ago. I read every Soviet document, including recently declassified ones, Stalin's correspondence, Bolshevik CC and Congress transcripts, and Chinese revolutionary history, especially from 1927 onward. I even ventured to go to China and study on the ground; unfortunately, my visa application was denied. However, I had **accumulated enough supporting data** and theoretical articles and documents from Stalin; I had some Chinese documents (mostly historical- CCP) translated. I had long and

multiple discussions with old-time communists from China and Vietnam. So the chapter on "**Is China Imperialist" is not written in a week,** but is the product of **extensive research and study**, first and foremost **to convince myself** whether it is imperialist or not. It is impossible to convince others unless one is convinced first, based not **on gossip and propaganda** but on concrete facts and theoretical support from Stalin, since most use his words to claim it is.

If not all, most claimers I read through have the attitude that they already know everything and they don't have to research and study; we know how Lenin called them;

> " If a Communist took it into his head to boast about his communism because of the **ready-made conclusions he had acquired**, without putting in a great deal of serious and hard work, **without understanding the facts which he must examine critically**, he would be a very **deplorable Communist indeed**." *Lenin, The Tasks of the Youth Leagues*

Such superficiality would be decidedly fatal. If I know that I know little, I shall strive to learn more; but if a man says that he is a Communist and that he needs to know nothing thoroughly, he will never be anything like a Communist.

Application of general theories in an abstract, learned-by-rote way in most cases **will not represent the objective truth.** Thus, analysis and position should be determined **not by abstracts** assumed to be the truth.

> "Marxism **requires** of us a **strictly exact** and objectively verifiable analysis of the relation of classes and of

the **concrete features peculiar to each historical situation**." *(Lenin, Letters on Tactics)*

Marxists **do not proceed** from cherry-picked, context-free, generalized theories to assessment of a given situation. That approach renders subjectivity and arbitrariness. Marxist-Leninists proceed from the assessment of a concrete situation to the application of theories." Marx", says Lenin, "... **speaks only of the concrete situation**; Plekhanov draws a general conclusion **without** at all considering the question **in its concreteness**." *(Lenin, Plekhanov's Reference to History)*

Memorizing and sloganizing some theories and applying them as a prescription that fits all stems from either petty-bourgeois laziness or the confusion and **assumption that theories are principles.** Theories are simply the generalization of the conclusion of a given specific analysis for a given subject under a given condition and situation. "Principles are not an aim, a program, a tactic, or a theory " said Lenin, "**Tactics and theory are not principles**…" *(Lenin, Speech In Defense Of The Tactics Of The Communist International)*

The fundamental reason for deducing the wrong approach and **drawing the wrong conclusion from the right theories** is that the "theories" **remain abstract** and thus prevent formulating any concrete conclusions for the specific conditions and situation, in a way that can be understood by the masses.

Lenin warned against applying **general principles and rules** as a prescription for determining tactics and stands to be taken. "Of course, in politics, in which sometimes extremely complicated—national and international—relationships … have to be dealt

with..." said Lenin, but "it **would be absurd to concoct a recipe, or general rule... that would serve in all cases.** One must have the brains **to analyze the situation in each separate case.**" *Lenin, Left-wing Communism)*

To give a proper assessment of the significance of any phenomenon, we must **consider it in conjunction with the whole**. Part is dialectically connected to the whole and **subordinated** to the interests of the whole.

"Not the doctrinaire and pedantic assessments based on learned by rote and sloganized general theories and application of ready-made schemas, but objective assessments sets the foundation for drawing correct practical conclusions. "**Marxist dialectical method forbids the employment of "ready-made schemes"** and **abstract formulas,** but demands the thorough, **detailed analysis of a process in all its concreteness,** basing its conclusions only on such an analysis. **The dialectical method demands,** first, that we should consider things, **not each by itself, but always in their interconnection with other things. "**This sounds "obvious." Nevertheless, it is an "obvious" principle which is **very often ignored** and is extremely important to remember. We have already considered it and some examples of its application in discussing metaphysics, since **the very essence of metaphysics is to think of things in an abstract way**, **isolated from** their relations with other things and from the **concrete circumstances** in which they exist." *(Maurice Cornforth, Materialism, and the Dialectical Method)*

Theoretically or practically**, an assessment can be equally correct** only if it is based on objective, **validated** data and considers the particular and the general through the **dialectics of**

Marxism. That is, China's history and concrete conditions in particular, and its dialectical connections with the world in general, recognizing the **ongoing "ideological warfare"** between capitalism and socialism, in addition to ongoing economic and political warfare.

> "Abstract theoretical reasoning," said Lenin, "may lead to the conclusion at which Kautsky has arrived—in a somewhat different fashion but also **by abandoning Marxism**.." *(Lenin, Preface to N. Bukharin's Pamphlet, Imperialism, and the World Economy)*

Marxist-Leninist objective assessment **studies concrete conditions and situations, not** subjective, learned-by-rote, sloganized theories or **arbitrary conclusions** that bear no relation to the interests of laboring people and their struggle, either in particular or in general.

This book **is not written to determine** whether China is socialist. I had to touch base on that issue to **show how weak and baseless the argument of "Chinese Imperialism" is** on so many theoretical grounds.

The question is **whether there is enough theoretical and practical concrete evidence to label China as an imperialist state.** The answer is no. That is the reason arguers rely on cherry-picked quotes and gossip as evidence. As you will see, it is impossible to prove that China is imperialist based on theories and gossip. However, an argument that **China's government is social-chauvinist** is more plausible, both theoretically and practically. **Social chauvinism, as history has proven, is the only way for the restoration of capitalism** other than a soft or hard counter-

revolution. What does that mean? **It means that China's transformation into social-imperialism is possible**. As Lenin and Stalin advised, we deal with that when it happens, because we **deal only with the current, objective reality.** And again as Lenin and Stalin stated;

"Only blockheads or masked enemies who with their boastfulness want to conceal their hostility and are striving to demobilize the people, can deny the danger of military intervention and **attempts at restoration as long as the capitalist encirclement exists.**" *(Stalin, On the Final Victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*)
"We are living not merely in a State but in a system of States, and it is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic should continue to coexist for a long period side by side with imperialist States. **Ultimately one or other must conquer "***(Lenin, 8th Party Congress)*

If the arguments were **tied to social-chauvinism**, they could have been convincing. As far as the argument of being "imperialist" now, my research and study show otherwise, both theoretically and practically. As I show below, the widely used "cherry-picked" quote from Stalin does not reflect Stalin's or Lenin's full perspective. Using the term **"Socialism with Chinese characteristics" in a mocking way** actually is a reflection of **how theoretically ignorant the mocker himself is**, how subjective he is, and how easily he embraced **the capitalist, revisionist propaganda.** Determination of a stand based on ready-made conclusions and formulas fitting the subjectivity acquired subjectively **forces one to sophistry** in order to support the subjective determination rather than studying all the concrete circumstances of an event and of its development.

One has to read carefully **without prejudice** and **make his/her own deductions.** Because **if the argument is wrong,** in practical reality the claimants are **serving the interests of the imperialists in the name of socialism** and in the name of being anti-imperialist. If one is wrong, he/she is not **serving socialist internationalism but global capitalism**. That is why it is a serious subject not to take lightly **if one claims to be a sincere socialis**t and not to fall into the propaganda bait and, **by way of which, side with the imperialists.**

"In order to achieve victory, in order to build and consolidate socialism …The second task is more difficult than the first, for it cannot possibly be fulfilled by single acts of heroic fervor; **it requires the most prolonged,** most persistent and most difficult mass heroism in prosaic, **everyday work. "** *Lenin, A Great Beginning*

This book will test China against Lenin's seven conditions for imperialism. As we will demonstrate, China fails every condition when properly understood. This is not because we are 'defending' China—it is **because the evidence is conclusive**.

Chapter 1. From Ideological struggle to ideological warfare: historical evolution

1.1-Introduction

Understanding the dialectical relationship between internal ideological struggle and external ideological warfare is essential for analyzing this phenomenon historically. The two are not identical but interconnected, and their interplay shapes the fate of socialist movements. This dialectical interplay is not confined to a single period of history; it continues today and will continue until one defeats and eliminates the other. Marxist-Leninist theory acknowledges that such ideological, cognitive, and political struggles against established systems persist.

The ideological conflict between socialism and capitalism has profoundly transformed since Marx and Engels first articulated their critique of political economy. What began as theoretical debate among intellectuals—a struggle to clarify working-class consciousness—has evolved into a global information war waged by state institutions with vast resources and sophisticated methods.

The stakes could not be higher. As capitalist states intensify ideological warfare through control of media, education, and culture—often through seemingly "progressive" fronts—Marxist-Leninists must develop a clear understanding of the battlefield to wage effective resistance.

Socialist theory must be applied to concrete national conditions and to the global situation—never as abstract formulas, but always through dialectical analysis. Marxist dialectics demands

that we study any phenomenon in its particularity and its connection to the whole—neither exists in isolation. In this context, I will try to give my opinion on the historical evolution of the "ideological" struggle between capitalist and socialist ideology in order to **shed light on the current "ideological warfare"** in which so many communists, communist parties, and communist organizations are unintentionally (most intentionally) **acting on the side of capitalists in this warfare**. The practice is no different from the era of Stalin's Soviets and the Cold War, but it is carried out in a skillfully concealed manner, with years of experience and through the available means of mental production controlled by capitalists. By studying and comparing narratives used during the Stalin era and the current era, we can see **the same tactics are being used** against socialist countries, countries with socialist tendencies, and anti-imperialist and anti-fascist struggles within countries. As M.J. Olgin once presented, the narratives of the "ultra-left" are not so much different in context from those of capitalists, fascists, and anticommunists other than the "terms" used to conceal their true nature.

Let's try to unpack the reasons "why the Marxist Leninist left fails in ideological warfare, alienates and forces the laboring masses to the ranks of social-democrats." And, if it is an unavoidable consequence due to the unequal balance of power as far as the means are concerned, what precautions should Marxist Leninists take in order to counter-balance?

The answer lies in the historical development of ideological struggle between socialist and capitalist thought, shaped by the balance of power at any stage of history. Differing from Marx, Engels, and Lenin's time, where the "ideological struggle" was

heavily **"internal",** Stalin's time coined the period of **"ideological warfare",** an external ideological struggle with the direct involvement of **capitalist states and state institutions.** Capitalists who own the means of production also own the means of mental production, which they used extensively for this purpose. So the "balance of power" in ideological warfare tilted in their favor, giving them the upper hand in defeating their enemies. However, the subject here is not purely the "ideological warfare itself," but one **of its means and methods** that brings about the **"failure" of the Marxist-Leninist left in this warfare**. Specifically, the confusion among the ranks of the left between the **internal** "ideological struggle" and **external** "ideological warfare" is skillfully used by the capitalists in their ideological warfare against socialism. Some voluntarily, due to their reformist tendencies; others unconsciously due to their petty bourgeois condescending ultra-left character, become **a tool of the capitalists** in their ideological **warfare**. This, of course, is in addition to (co-opted, formed, funded, recruited; whatever the case may be) **fake** communist internationals, fake communist parties and organizations, and fake Marxist academicians who have already taken part in the "ideological warfare" on the side of capitalists, influencing and poisoning the sincere young socialists and immature communist organizations.

Knowing something for sure and explaining it in a comprehensible way, first of all, requires a well-structured article. I will try my best to explain, starting with what an ideology is, the core purpose, character, and meaning of "**ideological struggles"** in different periods. To understand the differences between these periods is **crucial to grasp** the tactics of capitalists and their

lackeys under leftist masks in their **"ideological warfare"** against socialism, socialist thought, and socialist struggles. Bear in mind that I **purposely** use two different terms (struggle-warfare) that are often treated as the same, but in Marxism-Leninism, neither is the same historically or in context, despite their dialectical connection.

Throughout this work, I use two distinct terms deliberately:

Ideological struggle refers to the internal process within working-class movements—debates over theory, strategy, and tactics conducted among comrades seeking revolutionary clarity. This is the necessary, ongoing work of political education.

Ideological warfare describes the external, organized conflict between capitalist and socialist systems—a battle waged by states and their institutions using propaganda, media manipulation, and cultural influence to destroy socialist alternatives.

The critical error facing the contemporary Left is treating these as identical. When communist parties engage in "ideological warfare" against fellow socialists of other countries—publicly criticizing their internal affairs, imposing foreign perspectives, and amplifying narratives that serve capitalist propaganda—they abandon the terrain of legitimate struggle and become unwitting participants in the enemy's campaign.

1.2-Ideology and ideological Struggle

Ideology and its class character

Stalin, in his synopsis, "ancient, feudal, bourgeois and proletarian – such are the **forms of ideology"** *(1)*, was stating that ideologies exist in various historical forms, each tied to a specific

stage or mode of social production. Stalin was pointing out that each form is fundamentally determined by its corresponding economic base *(**mode of production**)* and class relations. Thus, **ideologies reflect** the material conditions of **their time**, specifically the social classes that control and are shaped by production. Ideologies serve a **specific purpose**, namely, to justify the rule of one class over another. Proletarian ideology justifies workers' control; bourgeois ideology justifies capitalist ownership. This process of "justification" brought about the **ideological struggle** between them.

Ideological Struggle	**Ideological Warfare**
Internal to working-class movements	External, between core Ideologies
Comradely, constructive debate	Hostile, destructive attack
Aim: theoretical clarity & unity	Aim: defeat & discredit the opponent
Conducted by parties & intellectuals	Conducted by states & state institutions
Primary method: persuasion & education	Primary method: propaganda & manipulation

These are dialectically connected—external warfare influences internal struggles—but they are not the same. Confusing them is the root of the left's contemporary weakness

The Dialectics of Ideological Struggle

In Marxist theory, **ideological struggle within the working class is absolutely fundamental.**

Stalin stated that "the hub of modern social life is the class struggle. In the course of this struggle **each class is guided by its own ideology**. The bourgeoisie has its own ideology — so-called liberalism. The proletariat also has its own ideology —this, as it is well known, is socialism." Was asserting that even within modern capitalist societies, the **underlying driver is still class struggle.** The driving, central force of life in advanced industrial nations **is not** individual freedom, culture, or religion per se but rather the **conflict** between different social classes. Within this struggle, each major class (bourgeoisie and proletariat) develops and promotes its own ideology to understand their interests, justify their actions, mobilize support, and **criticize opponents**. *(1)*

For Marxist Leninists**, ideological struggle** refers to the fight against "false consciousness" and bourgeois ideology within the working class itself. It's the **process of educating and persuading workers** to move from trade-union consciousness to revolutionary class consciousness , aimed at overthrowing the capitalist system itself. In its **early historical stages,** it largely encompassed debates between different socialist or communist tendencies—struggles between anarchists, Marxists, reformist social democrats, and Leninists over the correct **strategy and tactics for revolution and building socialism**. These demarcation lines were drawn during Lenin's and Stalin's eras and continue to be drawn in our era. The **intra-class ideological struggle** has become an **inter-class ideological struggle**, meaning **an ideological warfare**, general and ongoing conflict of ideas between any

opposing classes or systems. While the key **battlefield** remains within the working class, the struggle has become **international: ideological warfare** between the ideology of the proletariat and the ideology of the bourgeoisie.

In our modern era, dominated by capitalism, **ideology is crucially tied to** which side of the class conflict people are on. The bourgeoisie uses bourgeois ideology; the proletariat uses socialist ideology. These ideologies **don't exist separately;** they are weapons **in the ongoing class struggle.**

Thus ideology is **never neutral** but always a product and tool of specific social classes **locked in material conflic**t. The conflict continues internally as **"ideological struggle"** *(as we will see below)* and externally as **"ideological warfare"**. At certain stage, like the one we are in now, depending on the countries, "ideological struggles" **remain to be within** the working class movement (in some cases; Party) itself, but **not isolated** and not totally **independent** from the **"ideological warfare "** in general- especially in an era where the technological development makes the information flow (and thus propaganda) faster, widely spread and easily accessible world wide.

Ideological struggle, in its general and historical context, is indeed broader and occurs both within classes and between classes. Through the historical evolution, let's say starting in the late 1920s, in contemporary usage, **intra-class** ideological struggle, with the **direct involvement** of capitalist states and their institutions, has turned into **ideological warfare,** specifically an **inter-systemic** one heavily influencing the inter-class ideological struggles. This does not negate the fact that both concepts are part of a unified ideological confrontation, but it considers the

historical evolution in which the **inter-class struggle becomes dominant** and, to some degree, decisive.

Thus, Ideological struggle and ideological warfare should be distinguished by their scope (internal vs external) as a **precise and useful distinction** that gets to the heart of a key concept in Marxist theory and political analysis. Without that distinction, sectarianism will dominate within a given country, and the **concept of internationalism** will be turned into an **unending polemic** among the petty bourgeois "know-it-all" individuals and by the parties who act like **"self-acclaimed Comintern"** interfering in the internal affairs of every country and pontificating, dictating their own point of view to the Communist parties of other countries.

Ideological struggle is waged within the communist parties of each and every country as an internal affair; **ideological warfare** is waged internationally between the communists and capitalists, between capitalist and socialist ideology.

The confusion of the **difference between ideological struggle** and ideological **warfare** among the communists manifests itself sharply in the practice of the petty bourgeois pontificators and in the parties who practice as the **"self acclaimed Comintern"** of the entire communist parties of the world **by** not hesitating, rather pontificating even dictating to the **communist parties of Socialist Countries** who have waged brutal anti imperialist and civil wars and **acquired the political power** in their countries. In the name of "internationalism," these condescending petty bourgeois parties practically serve the interests of capitalists in their warfare against socialism. Because, as Lenin stated in a way that leaves no room for

misunderstanding; **"there is one,** and only one, kind of **real internationalism**, and that is—**working whole-heartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement** and the revolutionary struggle **in one's own country,** and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) this struggle, **this, and only this, line,** in every country without exception." *(2)* This actually means that rather than pontification, criticizing and dictating the communists of other countries, "**socialists in every country must** expose **their own government** and **their own bourgeoisie**…Lacking that, all talk of socialism, syndicalism**, internationalism is a sheer deception of the people**… He is an internationalist who in a **really internationalist way combats his own bourgeoisie**, his own social-chauvinists, **his own Kautskyites**". *(3)*

As a means and method of **ideological struggle,** the application of "Marxist criticism **is a science** because it **opposes subjectivism**… Criticism, by its nature, **cannot be only negative**, aimed at exposing some vicious concept. **Even in denial**, the Marxist **critic pursues positive goals**, **offers constructive solutions**. The Marxist critic **"removes" the wrong conception** in order to **form one that meets the interests of the proletariat**." *(4)*

Marxist-Leninist parties proceed from the principle that differences and misunderstandings may arise among various parties and states, even when they have relations of close friendship. In case of differences, problems and conflicting situations, Communist Parties of countries **settle their differences** on a Marxist-Leninist road, through mutual consultations and comradely explanations, and **never make them public.** This **principle** should be applied between **socialist**

countries and **between communist parties of different countries.**

Marxist-Leninist norms regulate relations among communist parties, especially those of different countries. Based on Marxist-Leninist **norms,** as a main part of ideological struggle, criticism of mistakes in the line and the activity of this or that party should be **objective, reciprocal, principled, constructive, and comradely**. Criticism is not **to dictate and impose** one's views on others, especially on the smaller parties of other countries. Criticism should be **constructive** and defend the struggles of Communists, anti-imperialists, and anti-fascists, and the fate of the revolution if they were successful in their struggles. Any practice contrary to this norm would only **serve the interests of capitalists** and bourgeois ideology.

Historical Evolution

1.3-Ideological struggle during Marx and Engels' time

In the earlier stage of Marxism, ideological struggle was focused on **the clarification of Marxist ideology;** that's why it was a struggle between different schools of thought with no direct or, in most cases, even indirect **involvement of "states" and their institutions**. The primary concern was **understanding** of capitalism and identifying socialism. It was a struggle for socialist ideas among thinkers through debates within the working-class thought which manifested itself as the **utopian** socialists versus **scientific** socialists, meaning **Marxists versus other "isms"**. Engels explained this as "**solidifying the theory and strategy"** in his writings on Historical Materialism, Class Struggle, Revolutionary Strategy, and Scientific Socialism vs. Utopian

Socialism, and by editing and disseminating the Theory after Marx's death. The "ideological struggle" was **internal** to the nascent working-class consciousness.

Primarily focused on theoretical analysis, writing polemics against existing ideologies, organizing revolutionary circles, engaging in political action, and publishing scientific critiques. Engels famously described Marx as "the author of *Capital*," highlighting his role in developing economic theory, but both were deeply involved in applying it politically.

This phase was largely theoretical. The next phase—Lenin's—would test those theories in the crucible of revolution, requiring a new level of organizational unity and exposing ideology as a weapon of state power.

1.4-Ideological struggle during Lenin's time

This period required mobilizing a unified party structure against Tsarist autocracy and international opposition. The struggle intensified and required strong, unified leadership. Lenin's period was **also largely internal** (at least until the revolution), within the working-class movement. His period saw the ideological struggle for **unity** and **the solidification of theory** into practice for revolution and its defense.

He synthesized theoretical insights with practical strategy. His work on imperialism was an implementation – analyzing global finance capital to prove that socialists needed a mass revolutionary organization ("imperialism is socialism's best friend," as he sarcastically put it) and that seizing control of the state machinery (waged war, etc.) would be necessary in imperialist conditions. He addressed how democratic rights could exist "within"

bourgeois democracy – an implementation. Socialists needed to fight for these forms while simultaneously recognizing they were fundamentally flawed and ultimately aimed at suppressing socialist revolution itself -"no genuine rights without revolutionary struggle".

The Comintern (1919) was a direct political tool implementing the strategy of international organization, and its success required theoretical justification about the new era of global capitalism.

With the establishment of the Soviet Union, the internal struggle became international. Capitalism could no longer ignore socialism; it had to attack it directly. Stalin's era thus marks the transition from struggle to warfare: a shift that defines our own time.

1.5-Ideological struggle during Stalin's time

Before Stalin's time, ideological struggle was primarily local, national, and theoretical, with a constant process of education and debate. During Stalin's period, internal "ideological struggle" was inevitably transformed into a worldwide **"ideological warfare"** by the external capitalist states. The presence of socialism made "**ideological warfare**" campaigns more relevant for capitalist states.

"Naturally, " **said Stalin**, " with every turn in the development of the class struggle, with every sharpening of the struggle and intensification of difficulties, the differences in the views, customs and sentiments of the various strata of the proletariat must inevitably make themselves felt in the shape of **definite disagreements within the party,** and the pressure of the bourgeoisie and its ideology must inevitably accentuate these disagreements

by providing them with an outlet in the form of a struggle within the proletarian party." (5) "Our social life is impregnated with bourgeois ideas and, consequently, **it is much easier to spread bourgeois ideology than socialist ideology.** It must not be forgotten that meanwhile the bourgeois ideologists **are not asleep**; they, in their own way, disguise themselves as Socialists and are tireless in their efforts to subordinate the working class to bourgeois ideology." *(6)*

Stalin's period marked the significant escalation in "ideological struggle." It wasn't just **internal party debates; it also became an explicit military struggle that carried into** the Cold War era. **Capitalists** shifted their ideological warfare from simple opposition to **organized propaganda** campaigns aimed at discrediting socialism, **fostering dissent** within socialist ranks, and skillfully attempting to revise Marxism-Leninism in ways acceptable to capitalists, or at least serving their interests in practice. Liberalism *(not criticizing-criticizing with bourgeois tendency)* within, and sectarianism *(destructive critique*) not only within but **largely in the international arena**, especially after the removal and exile of Trotsky, who supplied the capitalists with immense ammunition against the Soviets**,** have become the trend as a consequence of this powerful "ideological warfare" waged by the capitalists.

1.6-The Ideological Struggle of the Working-Class Movement

Marx explained that "In the social production of life, men enter into definite relations of production that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes

the structure of society, the real foundation on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political, and intellectual process in general. **It is not the consciousness of men** that determines their being, but on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society **come in conflict with the existing relations of production**, or --what is but a legal expression of the same thing -- with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. As the productive forces develop, these relations become their fetters. An epoch of social revolution begins. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformation**s a distinction should always be made between** the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, esthetic ideological forms in which **men become conscious of this conflict** and fight it out."*(7)*

Ideological struggle refers to the tendencies and ideology of the antagonistic classes within a given society. “The dialectics of history were such that the theoretical victory of Marxism “ said Lenin, “compelled its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists. **Liberalism**, rotten within, tried to revive itself in the form of socialist opportunism. They interpreted the period of preparing the forces for great battles as renunciation of these battles. Improvement of the conditions of the slaves to fight against wage slavery they took to mean the sale by the slaves of their

right to liberty for a few pence. They cravenly preached **"social peace"** (i.e., peace with the slave-owners), **renunciation of the class struggle,** etc." *(8)*

Right and left deviations in practice end up as an ideological support of capitalism due to their theoretical arrival at the "**primacy" of bourgeois ideology** over Marxist ideology. "The theory of spontaneity is the ideology of trade unionism," said Stalin, "The theory of spontaneity is the theory of **belittling the role of the conscious element** in the movement, the ideology of 'khvostism,' the **logical basis of all opportunism."** *(9)*

As Lenin had pointed out earlier; "Clearly, whoever extols the spontaneous movement and worships it, whether he wishes to or not, **digs a chasm between socialism and the working-class movement**, belittles the importance of socialist ideology, and expels it from life, and, whether he wishes to or not, subordinates the workers to bourgeois ideology.. means, quite irrespective of whether the belittler wants to or not, **strengthening the influence of bourgeois ideology over the workers**."*(10*)

Stalin explained the dialectical connection between the inter and intra struggle for the fact that **neither the proletariat nor the country is isolated** from the external influences. "**the pressure exerted by the bourgeoisie and bourgeois ideology** on the proletariat and its party in the conditions of the class struggle—a pressure to which the least stable strata of the proletariat, and, hence, the least stable strata of the proletarian party, not infrequently succumb. **It must not be thought that the proletariat is completely isolated from society,** that it stands **outside society.** The proletariat is a part of society, connected with its diverse strata by numerous threads. But the party is a part of the

proletariat. **Hence the Party cannot be exempt from connections with, and from the influence of, the diverse sections of bourgeois society.** The pressure of the bourgeoisie and its ideology on the proletariat and its party finds expression in the fact that bourgeois ideas, manners, customs, and sentiments not infrequently penetrate the proletariat and its party through definite strata of the **proletariat that are in one way or another connected with bourgeois society.**" *(11)*

In ideological struggle, depending on the objective conditions, some deviations **within a party,** as Stalin points out, '**could be regarded as tolerable**, and that we could **confine ourselves** to criticizing it **within the ranks of our Party**." *(12)*

Within a given country, between the revolutionary forces, this could be done publicly but **within the norms** of Marxist-Leninist critiques, as Hoxha stressed **"for socialism"**, meaning constructive, not destructive, **pushing them forward, not dragging them down**. As Lenin pointed out, "We must chastise the Rights in order to make them fight nationalism, to teach them to do so in order to forge real communist cadres from among local people. But we must also chastise the "Lefts" in order to teach them **to be flexible and to maneuver skillfully,** so as to win over the broad masses of the population. All this must be done because... **the truth lies "in between" the Rights and the "Lefts**" *(12)*

Under the conditions of the Soviet Union, where capitalism had already been overthrown but its roots had not yet been torn out, Right and Left **deviations** were a tendency; they had not yet taken a clear shape but were departing from the general line of Leninism in the direction of bourgeois ideology.

Combining & refinement via cognition and refined implementation involved **absorbing lessons from practical implementation** and historical events to refine theoretical understanding. Thus, internal debates (Marxism-Leninism) engaged in debates with both external opponents ("bourgeois ideology") and internal dissenters or revisionists. For example, Kautsky's initial criticism of Luxemburg about the Bolsheviki highlighted a contradiction between revolutionary theory and other Marxists' practical implementation. Lenin addressed the gap created by World War I and developed his concept of "socialism in one country," arguing for concrete adaptation to specific conditions. Stalin refined strategy (alliance with Western powers during WWII) while upholding core principles.

Events reflected this through the failure of the Paris Commune, which forced Marx to refine political tactics and organizational structure. Marx became more focused on building mass parties outside parliamentary structures that could use their influence strategically, as in his later involvement with the General Association. Lenin's analysis during WWI showed existing Marxist institutions needed radical reformation.

Combining theory and practice has become a continuous feedback loop:

1 . Formalizing the ideas based on material conditions and historical science.

2. Implementation of these ideas by the activists and organizers (e.g., building parties, uprisings).

3. Debates and observations of both success and failure provided new data for cognitive refinement.

4. Refined understanding was then re-formalized into updated theory or practical strategy adjustments.

History has shown that **ideological struggle must not interfere with positive work,** which is an impermissible form of struggle. Differences and divergences should not be exaggerated, but they should not be overlooked or ignored.

Through the "feedback" loop, Bolsheviks drew a clear line between the necessary and inevitable ideological struggle, on the one hand, and the "mean brawling", disorganization, petty rivalry, etc., on the other. They stressed that the Party Council should call on all Party members to **"sink their petty differences** as quickly as possible an**d keep the ideological struggle once and for all within such limits.** Because the ideological struggle is not a private affair, but the affair of the whole Party, of the whole proletariat. From this affair, the party of the proletariat is expected to derive ideological guidance!

However, such petty-bourgeois ideological considerations have nevertheless always played a secondary role initially, **turning into unending polemics** between the communist factions. Polemics have been nothing but torrents of abuse, often exposing the cadres of rival sects to the state. Petty bickering, heated but empty polemics, intrigue, and hegemonism split group after group, routing every drive to unite Marxist-Leninists.

Throughout its history, the "**ultra-left" answered the most burning international and domestic questions based on practicality, with learned-by-rote and sloganized general theories not based on analysis of existing conditions.** That is why the empty boasts of petty bourgeois ultra-left and its Anti-Leninist

tendency in practice have been far from consolidating itself into a trend with the support of the laboring masses. They have, however, attracted a wide range of followers, some of whom attack dogmatism to cover their own intellectual laziness, using pacifism behind ultra-left slogans to hinder active struggle, while others make honest, invaluable efforts to move the struggle forward.

There are **conscious** *(bourgeois agents)* and **unintended** followers of ultra-leftists, most of whom fundamentally **lack an understanding of dialectical materialism** and therefore do not consistently apply its laws and principles to concrete conditions and situations. This was the case during the "ideological struggle" period, and it is the case during the "ideological warfare" period. The difference is that in the former it was an ideological trend between bourgeois and socialist trends within; in the latter, it is ideological warfare between capitalist states and socialist, socialist-oriented, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist states.

1.7-The ideological warfare of the working-class movement

Anti-communist "ideological warfare" activities, largely driven by organized Western capitalist state institutions, began in 1947 (though their roots go back to the 1930s) and intensified significantly throughout the early 1950s, systematically influencing cultural, media, and academic circles, anti-Soviet party organizations, and individuals across the globe.

During this period, funding like that of the CIA was dedicated to groups actively opposing communism. Propaganda campaigns to demonize communist ideologies and leaders (including targeting anti-communist forces within Western societies)

were initiated and coordinated. Anti-communist movements in various countries were often linked closely with intelligence agencies financed, militarized, and supported.

Trotsky's association with Marxism provided a convenient target. After he, especially after 1928, became more explicitly critical of Stalinism, groups like the CIA actively cultivated and funded individuals, organizations, and movements that already held anti-communist views but needed direction, funding, and credibility to operate effectively **in this new context**.

Thus, the ideological struggle of the working class has become the overarching process of contesting and overcoming the ruling class's dominant ideology, both within one's own ranks and in society at large. The ideological struggle and "ideological warfare," as commonly used today, **mutually reinforce** each other through control of information flows. In this sense, the contemporary ideological warfare is "**information warfare,"** which is systemic and implies a **macro-level, organized, and often state-sponsored conflict** between two complete and opposing systems: socialism and capitalism. When states and state institutions are involved, its intensity heightens, becomes more acute, active, and **a total conflict than a "struggle."** As seen during the Cold War, ideological warfare gained international dimensions, using propaganda, media, education, culture, and diplomacy to **attack** the opposing ideology while defending and promoting one's own. In other words, **ideological warfare is the active, hostile, and state-level** waging of the ideological struggle on a global scale between competing socio-economic systems. While the ideological struggle is a long-term debate or a campaign of political education, ideological warfare **is a war fought with**

ideas and information on an international scale. While Ideological struggle is the broader, encompassing concept that happens in every country where there is class conflict, including within the working class to achieve ideological clarity, **ideological warfare is a specific**, intense form of the same struggle, representing the **open and total clash** between the consolidated ideologies of socialism and capitalism on the **world stage.**

The practical aim and effect of ideological warfare conducted through information warfare is to **disarm and discredit the primary contemporary alternative** to Western capitalist hegemony. Control over information flow, media narratives, education, and academic discourse has become a decisive factor in ideological warfare between socialism and capitalism.

Means and methods - Contemporary Analysis

The preceding chapters traced how ideological conflict evolved from theoretical debates among Marx's contemporaries to state-sponsored warfare in Stalin's era. This transformation was not merely quantitative—more participants, larger scale—but qualitative. The involvement of capitalist states changed the nature of the conflict itself.

Understanding this historical trajectory is essential because the methods developed during the Cold War have not been abandoned. They have been refined. In the chapters that follow, I examine how contemporary capitalist states wield control over mental production—media, education, culture—to wage ideological warfare, and how the Left's confusion between struggle and warfare plays directly into their hands.

Demonization

External demonization, propaganda, false narratives, and blatant "big lies" affect and fuel internal conflicts. Capitalist states create narratives like "personality cult," "bureaucracy," etc., which internal opponents use **to discredit leadership** and sow division, framing these critiques as proof that socialism was failing because of its leaders. This **external narrative** provides material for **internal criticism**.

Influencing the internal ideological struggles

Internal conflicts provide specific aims for the external Warfare. Capitalist states need clear, specific targets to attack. Socialism itself offers a different social system model, and **attacking socialist parties** provides an easy way to demonize the perceived threat, namely communism. Ideological struggle within the working class was transformed through using cognitive warfare and manipulation, first benefiting from the narratives of Trotskyist parties since 1929 and later making them totally serve their interests in their "ideological warfare". This manifested in **infiltration, subversion, and the division of socialist parties and movements globally and domestically.** The struggle against socialism and socialist ideology gradually became **an organized project by external capitalist forces,** with internal agents aiming to destroy and/or revise it in ways acceptable to capitalists. ideological struggle within the working class movements domestically transformed into an ideological warfare against capitalist ideology internationally, a warfare between the progressive and reactionary world. The core idea in this warfare is controlling information **as a weapon** to defeat the enemy.

Control of Mental Production; Media & Education

Controlling and influencing the "means of mental production", as Marx put it, encompassing media, education, culture, etc., is a key strategy for any dominant ideology seeking to propagate itself and suppress alternatives. Capitalists have long understood that **controlling the flow of information is crucial to controlling** how people receive it, through which they form and shape narratives, define acceptable discourse, and **promote certain values** like free markets and liberal democracy as opposed to socialism. For this purpose, they use official state media & news agencies; global networks like AP, Reuters, and Agence France-Presse originate from and are heavily influenced by Western perspectives. While efforts exist to counter this bias, the sheer power of these outlets **shapes global discourse significantly**.

Control of the means of mental production worldwide by the capitalists – encompassing information flow via media outlets, curriculum development and research in education systems, influence within academic establishments, and leveraging international organizations and cultural channels plays a **decisive role in ideological warfare** between socialism and global capitalism. This is achieved through:

1. Direct funding (USAID/NED).

2. Indirect funding under neutral or "progressive" banners ("NGOs," think tanks, university departments).

3. Shaping narratives within official state media.

4. Subverting open discourse via influential private Western-funded entities and platforms like social media.

So-called "Free Press" Outlets like Voice of America, Radio Free Asia, and BBC World Service have historically been used for propaganda purposes in this ideological warfare. However, beyond these overt state channels, this influence **extends massively to privately owned** media with significant capitalist backing (like major newspapers or broadcasters whose parent companies receive substantial indirect support).

Think Tanks are often considered "front" groups operating **under the guise of** pure research and objectivity but funded by and disseminating views favorable to Western capitalist interests. Examples include the Heritage Foundation and Cato Institute in the US (disguised as libertarianism), Chatham House in the UK (historically influential in foreign policy debates), or **academic centers** more often funded with strings attached.

Media guilds and journalism associations often receive **funding and guidance** from Western sources to uphold certain standards that favor liberal democracy (e.g., the Council of Europe's partial funding for media freedom projects).

Academic institutions and research are dominant and powerful tools for shaping intellectual thought. US government agencies like USAID and NED, but also foundations such as the John D. Rockefeller Foundation (historically active), Ford Foundation (still influential), and others have long funded academic conferences, chairs, departments, think tanks, and publications in countries across the Global South where socialist or nationalist regimes once held sway.

Influencing university curricula can subtly shift perspectives over generations. This isn't always direct control; it often involves partnerships, funding specific programs (e.g., economics focused on free markets), guest lectureships, and **publishing biases that favor certain theories or authors**. Marxist theory itself is taught in many universities worldwide, due to pressure from Western scholarship trying **to understand it and revise it** in ways acceptable to capitalists.

In addition, a**cademic centers and Institutes** like Liberal Arts Departments/Faculties, especially in elite universities globally, act as hubs for disseminating capitalist values through education like “liberal humanism”.

Specific Research Centers within Universities funded and directed to focus on particular issues often framed negatively against "socialist" or national development models.

Academic journals – particularly those in social sciences and humanities funded by university presses or private foundations.

International Conferences & Seminars used not just by "free press radio," but broadly to shape academic discussion, bring together **like-minded scholars and activists** from different countries, and **disseminate specific ideological framework**s – often funded by entities with known political interests (including USAID-NED).

Ideological warfare via Tech Companies

Social Media Platforms like Facebook and Twitter/X are dominated by US-based companies who control algorithms and shape information consumption patterns globally. The design

often favors engagement loops that **align with liberal-capitalist norms** or entertainment.

Non-Governmental Organizations

While NGOs are diverse, many Western-funded ones have **specific political mandates** related to human rights -often defined narrowly- democracy promotion, anti-corruption campaigns-often applied selectively- and the empowerment of civil society, often with a capitalist-globalization framework, all of which operate under plausible deniability for any involvement in ideological warfare.

Most **International Organizations,** beyond explicit intelligence agency fronts, are manipulated, forced, and subjugated for ideological purposes. United Nations & subsidiaries, while ostensibly neutral or pro-development, are heavily influenced by funding streams, reporting requirements, and agenda-setting by powerful member states (especially the US), which heavily **influence outcomes**. The **World Bank's** structural adjustment programs have **ideological implications** that favor free-market capitalism. **International Monetary Fund's** economic prescriptions often benefit dominant capitalist nations' interests.

Anti-Left capitalist parties and organizations - Concealed as leftist

Lenin had pointed out that the enemies disguise themselves as Marxists within his historical context highlighted that open confrontation might be difficult for powerful capitalist interests, thus, while they carry out direct infiltration by overt intelligence agencies (CIA, MI6, USAID-NED programs explicitly targeting "anti-left" positions) the more subtle and pervasive control they

use is **indirect methods** like funding and infiltrating existing leftist groups or mimicking socialist ideas, a strategy which remains valid today. Marxist intellectuals recruited by CIA-MI6 and other local "intelligence agencies" have played an important role in the **"ideological warfare"** from its inception.

Gabriel Rockhill, Ph.D., in his research article stated, " It is often presumed that intellectuals have little or no political power. Perched in a privileged ivory tower, disconnected from the real world, embroiled in meaningless academic debates over specialized minutiae, or floating in the abstruse clouds of high-minded theory, intellectuals are frequently portrayed as not only cut off from political reality but as incapable of having any meaningful impact on it. The Central Intelligence Agency thinks otherwise. .. For in an intriguing research paper written in 1985, and recently released with minor redactions through the Freedom of Information Act, the CIA reveals that its operatives have been studying the complex, international, trend-setting French theory associated with the names **Michel Foucault**, Jacques Lacan, and Roland Barthes.

The **image of American spies gathering in Parisian cafés** to assiduously study and compare notes on the high priests of the French intelligentsia might shock those who presume this group of intellectuals to be luminaries whose otherworldly sophistication could never be caught in such a vulgar dragnet, or who assume them to be, on the contrary, charlatan peddlers of incomprehensible rhetoric with little or no impact on the real world. However, it should come as no surprise to those familiar with the CIA's longstanding and ongoing investment in a global cultural war, including support for its most avant-garde forms,

which has been well documented by researchers like Frances Stonor Saunders, Giles Scott-Smith, Hugh Wilford (and I have made my own contribution in Radical History & the Politics of Art).

The **intelligence agency understands culture and theory** as crucial weapons in the arsenal it deploys to perpetuate US interests around the world. The recently released 1985 research paper, entitled **"France: Defection of the Leftist Intellectuals,"** examines—undoubtedly to manipulate—the French intelligentsia and its fundamental role in shaping the trends that generate political policy. Suggesting that there has been a relative ideological balance between the left and the right in the history of the French intellectual world, the report highlights the monopoly of the left in the immediate postwar era—to which, we know, the Agency was rabidly opposed—due to the Communists' key role in resisting fascism and ultimately winning the war against it.

… a new generation of anti-Marxist thinkers like Bernard-Henri Lévy, André Glucksmann and Jean-François Revel unleashed on "the last clique of Communist savants" (composed, according to the anonymous agents, of Sartre, Barthes, Lacan, and Louis Althusser). Given the **left-wing leanings of these anti-Marxists in their youth**, they provide the perfect model for constructing **deceptive narratives** that amalgamate purported personal political growth with the progressive march of time, as if both individual life and history were simply a matter of "growing up" and recognizing that profound egalitarian social transformation is a thing of the—personal and historical—past… "Even more effective in undermining Marxism," the moles write, "were those intellectuals who set out as true believers to apply Marxist theory

in the social sciences but ended by rethinking and rejecting the entire tradition."

The Central Intelligence Agency, as its name ironically suggests, believes in the power of intelligence and theory, and we should take this very seriously. In falsely presuming that intellectual work has little or no traction in the "real world," we not only misrepresent the practical implications of theoretical labor, but we also run the risk of dangerously turning a blind eye to the political projects for which we can easily become the unwitting cultural ambassadors.

The **Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), headquartered in Paris and later revealed as a CIA front organization during the cultural Cold War**, was among the most important patrons in world history, supporting an incredible range of artistic and intellectual activities. It had **offices in 35 countries,** published dozens of prestige magazines, was involved in the book industry, organized high-profile international conferences and art exhibits, coordinated performances and concerts, and **contributed ample funding to various cultural awards** and fellowships, as well as to front organizations like the Farfield Foundation." *(13)*

The **spy agency's cultural strategy of fragment, polarize, and pacify the Marxist-Leninist left** has become widespread and powerful with fake "communist" parties, organizations, and "internationals" they formed and/or financed. They are very effective in their strategies by which they actually seek to sever and isolate the communist, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist left from the "left", more like, with left names and narratives.

Another research article by Ryan Perkins states: " **In 1950, the CIA formally launched the Congress for Cultural Freedom**, a sprawling initiative designed to cultivate a liberal, democratic, **anti-Communist cultural elite across the West.**

Spearheaded by agents such as Michael Josselson and, later, CIA counter-intelligence head and modernist-verse lover James Jesus Angleton, the CCF became **a cultural superpower.**

It organized conferences, funded writers and artists, and **subsidized over 20 prestigious journals** including Encounter (UK), Der Monat (Germany), and Preuves (France). It financed book translations, art exhibitions, and academic events. By the late 1950s, it had become what Frances Stonor Saunders, in her seminal 1999 book Who Paid the Piper?, called "the most significant patron of intellectual life in Western Europe."

The mission was straightforward: winning hearts and minds **by backing a left that rejected communism,** class consciousness, and class conflict; a left which did not question the material structure of capitalism but retained the aura of intellectual radicalism. Unlike the American right, which saw socialism as a monolith, the **CIA distinguished between different shades of red.** Disillusioned communists, Trotskyists, social democrats, and ex-Marxists were seen as **useful counterweights to Marxist class analysis.**

A bourgeois, **respectable left that drank espresso in Paris cafés**, not vodka in Kremlin halls.

Many of the thinkers the **CIA supported** through intermediaries w**ere formerly aligned with Marxism or Trotskyism**. Irving Kristol, co-editor of Encounter and later a founding figure of

neoconservatism, was once a youthful Trotskyist. Arthur Koestler, author of Darkness at Noon, was a former Comintern member turned anti-Soviet polemicist. They, and many like them, **became ideological mercenaries in the Cold War battlefield of ideas**—compensated not just with salaries but with **prestige and platforms.**

But **it wasn't just ideas they funded**—aesthetics, too. In one of the most surreal chapters of the Cold War, the **CIA covertly championed Abstract Expressionism**, an art movement then seen as radical, nonconformist, and **defiantly individualistic.** Jackson Pollock, Mark Rothko, and Willem de Kooning—now seen as quintessentially American artists—were promoted internationally as proof that liberal societies could produce avant-garde creativity, **unshackled by censorship or socialist realism.**

Music, too, was weaponized. Atonal and twelve-tone compositions by Arnold Schoenberg and Pierre Boulez were promoted across Europe as a discordant metaphor for freedom and complexity. The Soviets preferred Tchaikovsky and symphonic socialist anthems; the CIA offered dissonance and spontaneity.

Though the artists and composers often had no idea their careers were being advanced by Langley, **the institutional support shaped cultural prestige—and the intellectual terrain that followed."** (14)

In his review of the book "Who Paid the Piper: The CIA and the Cultural Cold War" By Saunders, James Petras states: "The CIA, under the prodding of Sidney Hook and Melvin Lasky, **was instrumental in funding the Congress for Cultural Freedom**, a

kind of cultural NATO that grouped together all sorts of "anti-Stalinist" leftists and rightists. They were completely free to defend Western cultural and political values, attack "Stalinist totalitarianism," and to tiptoe gently around U.S. racism and imperialism. Occasionally, a piece marginally critical of U.S. mass society appeared in CIA-subsidized journals.

What was particularly bizarre about this **collection of CIA-funded intellectuals** was not only their political partisanship, but their pretense that they were disinterested seekers of truth, iconoclastic humanists, free-spirited intellectuals, or artists for art's sake, who counterposed themselves to the corrupted "committed" house "hacks" of the Stalinist apparatus.

It is impossible to believe their claims of ignorance of CIA ties. How could they ignore the absence in the journals of any basic criticism of the numerous lynchings throughout the southern United States during the whole period? How could they ignore the absence, during their cultural congresses, of criticism of U.S. imperialist intervention in Guatemala, Iran, Greece, and Korea that led to millions of deaths? **How could they ignore the gross apologies of every imperialist crime of their day in the journals in which they wrote?** They were all soldiers: some glib, vitriolic, crude, and polemical, like Hook and Lasky; others elegant essayists like Stephen Spender or **self-righteous informers like George Orwell**. Saunders portrays the WASP Ivy League elite at the CIA holding the strings, and the vitriolic Jewish ex-leftists snarling at leftist dissidents. When the truth came out in the late 1960s and New York, Paris, and London "intellectuals" feigned indignation at having been used, the CIA retaliated. Tom Braden, who directed the CIA's International Organizations

Branch, **blew their cover by detailing how they all had to have known who paid their salaries and stipends**.

According to Braden, the **CIA financed their "literary froth,"** as CIA hardliner Cord Meyer called the **anti-Stalinist intellectual exercises** of Hook, Kristol, and Lasky. Regarding the most prestigious and best-known publications of the self-styled "Democratic Left", Braden wrote that the money for them came from the CIA and that "an agent became the editor of Encounter". By 1953, Braden wrote, "we were operating or influencing international organizations in every field.". *(15)*

It is clear that **the capitalist states and institutions penetrated every decisive field in the "ideological warfare,"** from arts to culture, from intellectuals to the fake communist parties. I can't help but note the fact that even some of the leading "theoreticians" I know are into "bourgeois art", especially the "abstract" ones, without even considering the fact that every form of culture has its ideological background and represents an ideological framework.

Now, those outlined above are the capitalist state and state institutions' practices carried out in the ideological warfare waged between socialism and capitalism. It is an **unavoidable and undeniable fact** that those practices **will be reflected** in the approach and practices of "sincere" left individuals, parties, and organizations. We can clearly see their position on the wrong side in their assessments and stances on any given issue, which **puts them in the enemy camp.**

1.8- Supremacist, know-it-all ultra-left sectarian tendency

The sin of the "ultra-left" is that they are infected with sectarianism and fail to understand the paramount importance of dialectical balancing between opportunism-liberalism and sectarianism. The ultra-left, while revolutionary in words and slogans, falls behind the reformists in practice in most cases. They like to criticize every "action every other party and organizations world wide, yet they literally does not show any action within their own countries. They hide behind the slogan of "uncompromising attitude" yet they compromise the democratic struggles and leave the leadership of every mass movements to the bourgeois liberals. They are "compromisers" hiding behind the slogans of "un-compromisers." They have become the "useful tool" for the capitalists in their ideological warfare against socialism in almost every aspect.

They hide behind the slogan of "internationalism," yet they ignore and are even insolent to the struggle within their own countries. Their approach and practice are fundamentally against Lenin's definition and warnings on the subject.

Different objective perspectives in each different country vs subjective perspective of self-acclaimed "Comintern" parties

It is an indisputable fact that each nation will have different cultural, social, political backgrounds and ideological outlooks. Attitudes towards the questions they face, whether it be anti-feudal, national liberation, anti-imperialist, or socialist. Learned-by-rote theories and ready-made schemes do not determine conditions and situations; conditions and situations determine how theories are applied. Because "Marxist dialectical method forbids the employment of "ready-made schemes" and abstract formulas, but demands the thorough, detailed analysis of a

process in all its concreteness, basing its conclusions only on such an analysis. " *(16)* **Marxists do not proceed** from the **generalized theories** to assessment of a given situation which renders subjectivity and arbitrariness but **proceed from the assessment of concrete situation to the application of theories.** Distinguishing the Bolsheviks from the rest**, " Marx", says** Lenin, "... **speaks only of the concrete situation;** Plekhanov draws a **general conclusion** without at all considering the question **in its concreteness.**" *(17)* This concreteness, rather than applying schemes based on learned by rote and memorized theories without any analysis, distinguishes the Bolsheviks from the rest. Lenin said that "**If a Communist** took it into his head to boast about his communism because of the **ready-made conclusions** he had acquired, without putting in a great deal of serious and hard work, without understanding the facts which he must examine critically, he would be a **very deplorable Communist.**" *(18)*

Unfortunately, what we witness in our days is that a few so-called "communist" Parties have taken upon themselves the role of "Comintern" and are criticizing the communist parties, anti-fascist, anti- imperialist struggles of every other country, arrogantly and in a condescending way pontificating them and trying to dictate their own perspectives onto "others". Is this coincidence? No, it is not. Petty bourgeois competitiveness drives them into a competition with the capitalist-formed and shaped fake "communist party" and organizations and thus lands them in the same ranks with them in the "ideological warfare" serving the capitalist interests.

Compared to Lenin's time, the movements in the world are relatively more united in thinking and action and stronger ideologically, politically, and organizationally- which was an underlying reason for the dissolution of Comintern". Playing "Comintern" role and pontification and dictating the communist parties, criticizing, and belittling the anti-imperialist of other countries can only be in the service of capitalists in the ideological warfare. Lenin had rightly said that **'the revolutionary movement in the advanced countries would actually be a sheer fraud if**, in their struggle against capital, the workers of Europe and America were not closely and completely united with the hundreds upon hundreds of **millions of "colonial" slaves who are oppressed by capital.**' (*19)*

These so-called "international" communist parties, by taking a passive or scornful or **negative attitude** towards the struggles of the **oppressed nations for liberation,** are in fact protecting the interests of monopoly capital, betraying those of the proletariat, and degenerating into social democrats.

This criticism takes a stand on the side of the capitalist camp, regardless of the subjective intentions of the individuals making the claim. In practice, their argument **disarms and discredits the primary contemporary alternative to Western capitalist hegemony.** We are not living in Lenin's time, and the "ideological struggle" has long shifted into "ideological warfare," where capitalists have the upper hand because they control the means and methods of mental production.

1.9-Conclusion

This work has argued that the contemporary Left's failure in ideological warfare stems from a preventable error: confusing internal ideological struggle with external ideological warfare. The consequence is that sincere communists—particularly those influenced by petty-bourgeois ultra-left tendencies—become unwitting tools of capitalist propaganda.

Marxist-Leninists must recognize that ideological criticism of fellow socialist parties is only legitimate when it is constructive, comradely, and conducted through appropriate channels. Public denunciation, particularly from abroad, violates Marxist norms and serves capitalist interests.

Genuine internationalism requires focusing on one's own national struggle while supporting others materially and through solidarity—not through pontification. Lenin's injunction remains definitive: 'He is an internationalist who combats his own bourgeoisie.'

The dialectical method demands concrete analysis of concrete conditions. The application of theory is not the mechanical imposition of formulas but the organic development of strategy from material reality.

We must vigilantly distinguish between legitimate revolutionary criticism and the narratives of capitalist ideological warfare—narratives that often disguise themselves as progressive, anti-authoritarian, or even Marxist.

The ideological warfare waged by capitalism is unprecedented in its sophistication, resources, and global reach. But it is not

invincible. Clear understanding of the battlefield—of the distinction between legitimate struggle and enemy warfare—is the first condition for victory. The proletariat has defeated capitalism before, and it will do so again—but only if its vanguard does not mistake the enemy for the comrade."

Marxist theory is a method for understanding objective reality at a given time based on material conditions and historical development. Meaning that it is not dogma but must be continuously tested against new experience. **Marxism-Leninism**, the evolution of Marxism, is the doctrine of political, economic, juridical, social, and cultural theories and practices in applying Marxist theory to **concrete** conditions. **Leninism** applies Marxism to modern phenomena like colonialism and finance capital, providing tools for revolution under conditions **Marx and Engels did not anticipate.** It remains a living method but not rigid dogma. **Stalinism** refers to the concrete implementation of Marxism-Leninism's strategy of industrialization and collectivization under specific historical conditions.

As the conditions and objective realities change, the application of theories changes in any given situation or era. Marxism wasn't developed in a vacuum; it required constant interaction with the real world and went through formalization, experimentation, implementation, and combining-refinement to become a solidified theory. Fundamentally, Marxist principles operate objectively and concretely. This process distinguishes "true" Marxism from dogma, making it a dynamic method for understanding reality and guiding revolutionary action **rather than an inflexible set of prescriptions**. The key is grounding theory in materialist analysis of class struggle at any given time and place,

and solidifying Marxist theory through cognition of objective reality.

Our current objective reality is that we are in the era of “ideological warfare,” which we should consider in all our “ideological struggle” so we do not fall on the wrong side in our critiques of fellow socialists in other countries.

One must distinguish struggle from warfare. Internal debate is legitimate; external denunciation of fellow socialists serves the enemy.

Internal critique involves identifying weaknesses and deviations from the perceived "true" socialist path within a given country, with its own specific conditions and objective realities. These critiques may be credible because they target specific aspects of a functioning system within a country, making them seem reasonable to some segments of society who feel alienated or confused by rapid changes.

External critique, in the age of “ideological warfare,” most often becomes discreditation by the capitalist. It is used as a propaganda campaign painting socialism as inherently flawed, **aiming not just at internal dissent** but ultimately at global acceptance of these flaws and **turning workers against their own interests and their own** movements.

Stalin's emphasis on applying dialectics is particularly relevant here. This refers to the need to continuously **analyze the enemy's methods**, recognizing that “internal” ideological conflict **is often a consequence or extension of external attempts** to undermine socialism. The "brainwashing" concept from Marxist-Leninist theory must be understood **not just as internal**

manipulation but as part of a broader ideological war waged by capitalism. An ideological war aimed **at cognitive infiltration and political division.**

Therefore, it's crucial to recognize that **internal ideological struggles** are often not purely spontaneous phenomena among workers or intellectuals, but f**requently influenced or directed by external manipulations**. Capitalists, with their immense power and control over the means of mental production, use sophisticated tools for misinformation like "fake news", psychological operations, framing tactics, and exploit perceived weaknesses within any system against its interests.

The dialectical method helps identify these foreign roots while also critically examining **whether** certain internal features are temporary transitional phenomena or have become ossified structures that hinder socialist development and thus fulfill their own historical-materialist criteria for decay. However, **this relates to <u>an internal affair</u> of a given country.**

As I have noted in "The Marxist norms and Marxist criticism among the communists and parties on international relations,"; although there may be exceptional situations, it is not common to see serious and genuine communist parties criticizing the communist parties in their theory and practices related to their internal affairs. Every communist, communist organization, and party knows the conditions and situation of their own country better than outsiders who have no serious knowledge of that country's culture, traditions, history, and existing conditions, other than what they acquired from bourgeois sources. Either as a Petty bourgeois habit or as a "CIA-NED" formed communist party or "international", "criticizing" communists of other

countries in the name of "internationalism" has nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism. Repeating Lenin's words a thousand times: "**Socialists in every country** must expose **their own government** and their **own bourgeoisie**...Lacking that, all talk of socialism, syndicalism, **internationalism is a sheer deception** of the people... He is an internationalist who in a really internationalist way **combats his own bourgeoisie**, his own social-chauvinists, **his own Kautskyites". (1)** Because; **"there is one,** and only one, kind of **real internationalism**, and that is— **working whole-heartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement** and the revolutionary struggle **in one's own country,** and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) this struggle, **this, and only this, line,** in every country without exception." (3)

Marxist-Leninist norms regulate relations among communist parties. Based on Marxist-Leninist norms, criticism of mistakes observed in the line and the activity of this or that party should be **objective, reciprocal, principled, constructive, and in a comradely manner**. Criticism is not **to dictate and impose** one's views on others, especially on the smaller parties of other countries. Criticism should be constructive and defend the struggles of the Communists, anti-imperialists, and anti-fascists and the fate of the revolution if they were successful in their struggles.

In the **era of "ideological warfare,"** we should seriously and vigilantly keep those words in mind in order not to **land ourselves in the ranks of capitalists.** For Marxist Leninists, **the concept of** the "**chief enemy,**" and **its determination** under any given conditions, **is a fundamental requirement to follow.** Marxist Leninists must answer the questions of **where the**

interest of the laboring people lies in specific cases, and in the world in general. "Marxist dialectical method forbids the employment of "ready-made schemes" and abstract formulas. The dialectical method demands, first, that we should consider things, not each by itself, but always in their interconnection with other things.*(20)* In general, when Marxist Leninists supports capitalism against feudalism, that does not make them pro-capitalist, or when they support monopoly capitalists against the capitalists, that does not make them pro-imperialist (in its scientific meaning), or when they declare that they prefer a populist bourgeois democracy against an autocratic fascist government form, that does not make them pro-bourgeois democracy, or when they support regimes like that of Iran in their resistance against the aggression of US-NATO imperialism, that does not make them pro-reactionary regimes, or when they welcome the defeat of US-NATO imperialists in Afghanistan, that does not make them pro-Taliban. These are mechanical equations made by liberals or **by those who memorize the theories** that fit their own subjective stand, sloganize them, and **use them as a "formula" on each and every situation**. This has nothing to do with applying the dialectics of Marxism; thus, it **does not serve the interests of the working class in ideological warfare.**

No account of capitalist ideological warfare is complete without **recognizing the role Leon Trotsky** and his followers played. While Trotsky's theoretical contributions to Marxism are undeniable, his post-exile writings—particularly after 1928—provided capitalists with an arsenal of narratives that have been weaponized against socialism for nearly a century.

The **CIA's cultivation of anti-Stalinist leftists, Trotskyists, and disillusioned Marxists was not random.** These figures possessed the credibility of having 'once been Marxist,' making their critiques more persuasive to workers than overtly capitalist propaganda. Trotsky's accusations of 'bureaucratic deformation' and 'betrayal of the revolution' were repurposed by intelligence agencies, given institutional support, and transformed into the foundation of a 'left' anti-communism that persists to this day.

This is not to deny the legitimacy of all internal critique—Stalin himself acknowledged the necessity of "criticizing it within the ranks of our Party." But the public, external, and destructive character of the critiques emanating from Trotskyist and post-Trotskyist circles has consistently served imperialist objectives, regardless of the subjective intentions of those making them."

Trotsky has supplied immense ammunition to the capitalists in their ideological warfare against socialism and has facilitated the setting of the foundation for fake socialist intellectuals, writers, organizations, and parties. "Socialist" rhetoric, lies, and slanders against socialist, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist countries and parties coming from these fakes make the arguments more "credible" in the service of capitalists. In addition to the "critiques" of socialists by these fakes, petty bourgeois "ultra-left" intellectuals, organizations, and parties serve the interests of the capitalists through their critiques, which are in concert with these fakes in "context". So, they become "volunteer" servants of capitalists in the "ideological warfare". Through their arrogant and condescending critiques, they supply enough information to be focused and abused by the capitalists in their propaganda and actions against the socialists, anti-fascists and anti-imperialists. In

this sense, their function historically resembles that of the Fifth-Column "socialists" in the service of imperialists and fascists.

Notes

(1) Stalin, Anarchism Or Socialism

(2) Lenin, The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution

(3) Lenin, Theses for an Appeal to the International Socialist Committee and All Socialist Parties

(4) Lunacharsky, the formation of Marxist criticism

(5) Stalin, The Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I

(6) Stalin, Briefly About Disagreements in the Party

(7) Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy

(8) Lenin, The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx

(9)Stalin, The Foundations of Leninism

(10) Lenin, What Is To Be Done?

(11) Stalin, The Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I

(12) Stalin, "The Sultan-Galiyev Case"

(13) The CIA Reads French Theory: On the Intellectual Labor of Dismantling the Cultural Left

(14) How the CIA created the modern Left and why the Right still think it's a Marxist plot

(15) The CIA and the Cultural Cold War Revisited

(16) Lenin, Guerrilla Warfare

(17) Lenin, Plekhanov's Reference to History

(18) Lenin, The Tasks of the Youth Leagues

(19) Lenin, 'Speech at the Second Congress of the Communist International').

(20) Maurice Cornforth, Materialism and the Dialectical Method

Chapter 2- The Metamorphosis of imperialist Conflict: Technology, Multipolarity, proxy wars and the Enduring Relevance of Leninist Imperialism

From direct wars to proxy wars: How do the just and unjust wars in our technological era differ?

> "Of course, in politics, in which sometimes extremely complicated—national and international—relationships … have to be dealt with.. **it would be absurd to concoct a recipe, or general rule.**.. that would serve in all cases. **One must have the brains to analyze the situation in each separate case."** (1)

In this article, I will try to summarize the **technical questions** related to wars, and will follow focusing on the **theoretical aspects of imperialism** and war in relation to Leninist theory and against the claims that it is no longer valid. Technically: 1) how the imperialist wars in our technological era differ from the previous ones?, 2) Transition to Multipolar Order; Facilitation of National Struggles, leveling the playing field to a large degree, 3) How the ramifications and implications of technology will change the forms of war? 4) Transition from direct wars between superpowers to proxy wars, 4) An era of "neutrality" on the part of small countries? 5) Has the Nuclear War between superpowers become a thing of the past? 6) Geopolitical position of a country, natural resources, economic power, and the capability of disrupting the internet as the new "nuclear weapons" of the era without its physical destruction. Main theoretical section: Does the change in the form of wars refute the Leninist theory of wars; Inevitability of wars, or does the theory still remain valid?

2.1-Introduction

In our 2022 article related to the war in Ukraine, we had stated that: "Ukraine's military as a guinea-pig for US-NATO, as the testing ground for Russia; trials and drawing lessons from each other's military means, strategy, and tactics. That is another reason why **they will be extending the war longer** than usual at the expense of the people's deaths and sufferings." Since then, we have witnessed the **introduction and testing of numerous weapons** in the war. (3) It has become like a sci-fi movie on the ground.

Despite all these concrete and decisive **changes in the means and methods of war**, memorized and sloganized general theories on imperialism and war still remain valid. We have those who call themselves **"realists,"** like Professor Mearsheimer, who borrows the Marxist-Leninist theory that "as long as capitalism exists, the wars are inevitable" yet in the form of an imperialist apologizer. He and like-minded "realists," including some of the ML left and their followers, however, are selective in their assessments; objective sometimes- like in the case of Ukraine-Russia- subjective in the case of the West against China. That is the manifestation of **hubris in all their assessment when it comes to the West against the rest**. They are realists in the context of the theory, and yes, **Marxism is related to the essence of things,** but Marxist Leninists never deny the **importance of the forms of things.** "Marx's method consists, **first of all**, in taking due account of the **objective content** of a historical process **at a given moment,** in definite and concrete conditions". *(2)*

Wars are inevitable, but the question is whether the "**forms of the wars"** are changing together with the changes in war

technology; simply put, will we be seeing world wars as history has shown **between the superpowers** with their direct involvement, or will it be **mainly** proxy wars between them? **The premise that direct wars between superpowers will bring about the use of nuclear war convinces almost every objective Marxist Leninist analyst that nuclear war between them is highly unlikely**. This conclusion reflects the Leninist theory. However, most align themselves with the Kautskyite view that the imperialists will **"handshake"** and **form an "ultra imperialist" world order** due to the existence of **"destructive technological weapons"** and weaponization of the economy; energy, food, and now technology on which the rest relies.

At its core, t**wo seemingly opposing points of view** reach the same conclusion as the "solution" derived from the **fearmongering of "nuclear war"**. One claim is that due to the threat of nuclear war, and the technological developments related to the use of nuclear war, there will be peace between the **imperialists** and the wars will be a question of history, the other is that for the same reason and due to shaping of "super powers" regionally (East and West), they will use **economic and political means** in order to expand their sphere of influence within their regions **without any need for a direct war**.

As we have noted in an earlier article, "in a bipolar, multipolar world the possibility of a nuclear war is highly unlikely. There may be exceptions of regions far from the borders outside of the nuclear effect zone and outside of the strategic, economic alliances of one or the other superpower with **minimal use of tactical-nuclear weapons.** However, the wars during the phase of **multipolar world will have to be proxy wars** in smaller

scales, regional at worst, economic competition at best." …. most likely… proxy wars with the **use of new weapons** at the expense of the people and the destruction of the proxy countries in where the **new "technological weapons"** will be tested on the field and improved accordingly." (4)

In another article, I stated that: "A direct war" between superpowers as we understand it is increasingly becoming a thing of the past. **It is being replaced by "proxy wars"** and will remain so for a long time". *(5)*

In that reference, Lenin had stated that "We Marxists differ from both the pacifists and the Anarchists in that we deem it necessary historically (from the standpoint of Marx's dialectical materialism) **to study each war separately**… Therefore, **it is necessary to examine** the **historically specific features** of precisely the present war." *(6)* Study of each given period could give us serious information to consider in our predictions for the near future.

2.2-What Really Has Changed?

When Lenin spoke of **war as a continuation of politics,** he did not restrict 'politics' to formal declarations of war, nor 'force' to massed infantry. For a dialectician, '**force**' **encompasses** economic strangulation, cyber paralysis, information subversion, and the arming of proxies. Thus, when **I speak of** '**war**' in this article, I mean systemic violent competition across all domains, not merely the kinetic battlefield.

In the new era, the tools of war have become far more technologically advanced, complex, sophisticated, and diverse, even when waged **through proxies**. Modern proxy wars involve

sophisticated logistics, intelligence gathering and analysis, cyber capabilities, drone technology, special forces advisors/training, and information warfare. Decisions are made at strategic centers involving high-tech planning, often **without direct large-scale military confrontation** on the home front or between the competing superpowers.

The technological sophistication involved in planning and executing all forms of "war" (economic, political, military, information, and cyber) **is immense.** Unlike in traditional inter-imperialist conflicts, decisions about conflict often happen at high levels **without visible boots** on the ground or **direct involvement by enemy armies**. Information technology enables **unprecedented manipulation of perception**, support for proxy forces via global networks, and **the creation of propaganda environments.**

Modern capitalist powers don't just fight other great nations directly; t**he nature of the targeting has changed. They wage war through smaller states,** rebel factions within their own backyard or allied territory, **non-state actors** like formed and/or cultivated terrorist or insurgent groups, and even potentially **through cyber attacks** against infrastructure. **This reflects both a continuation of competition for economic and strategic interests and an adaptation to changing conditions and the geopolitical landscape.**

The classical sense of a direct world war between superpowers has largely **been avoided** because of **nuclear deterrence**, especially mutual assured destruction (MAD). **Conflicts are often localized but still involve major powers indirectly, through agents or proxies.** It is a tactical revolution **that redefined the**

battlefield; in other words, a transition from mass mobilization to precision stand-off. It was technological development with the production and application of drones, hypersonic missiles, and AI-targeting that has **shifted warfare from contemporary** "shock and awe" and/or industrial/infrastructure attrition of the WWI and WWII era **to real-time, networked attrition and elimination**.

The **high-cost** military means and methods have lost their leverage. A multi-billion-dollar **aircraft carrier has become a sitting duck at sea**; a multi-million-dollar missile interceptor has become an economic burden against thousand-dollar drones. For the aggressor, the average unit cost of a precision-guided long-range missile ranges between $1.5M–$3M; a single modern main battle tank like Leopard 2 or M1A2 costs $10M to $15M; a full mechanized battalion (30–40 tanks) represents a deployed asset **value of $300M.** The cost-exchange ratio of high-tech weapons, a $20,000 kamikaze drone against a $4,000,000 missile interceptor, creates a severe economic mismatch. This cost asymmetry **lets smaller countries** wage wars of attrition a**gainst wealthier nations**, risking depletion of their advanced defense stockpiles. For example, FPV attack drones cost between **$500 and $2,000, while the** Iranian Shahed-136 costs between **$20,000 and $50,000.** Standard Missile Interceptor (SM-2) costs $2,100,000, Patriot PAC-3 Missile Interceptor costs around $4 million, THAAD Missile Interceptor costs range between $ 12 and **$15** million. Considering the fact that in order to intercept and **shoot down one incoming missile or drone**, at least two intercepting missiles **need to be launched, the calculus is obvious. Thus,** depleting an already limited stock and the long time

required to mass-produce these interceptor missiles becomes **not only a financial** but **also a strategic** problem for aggressive large countries. That is why this **new technology acts as a "force multiplier,"** allowing medium and small states to inflict **disproportionate costs on aggressor/invading superpowers.** As we have seen in concrete examples in Ukraine, Iran, Yemen, and Lebanon, the old industrial calculus of mass-producing high-cost military means has been inverted: the **defender's economic friction is now exponentially cheaper** than the **invader's** physical mass. This tactical revolution explains **why major powers no longer seek direct territorial occupation;** therefore, it is important to study how and why these powers are seeking and will seek to **project force indirectly.**

The underlying drivers- competition for resources, markets, strategic positioning, ideological rivalry, and geopolitical influence- **remain fundamentally the same. Capitalism** still thrives on accumulation and **control over life-sustaining conditions. The forms of warfare have changed dramatically** due to technology, but **wars are still waged to secure** interests like controlling oil fields in the world and interventionist policies based on ideology. What was once **direct confrontation between large armies** is now often a **complex mix** of indirect support and proxy action, asymmetric warfare against non-nuclear, poorer states or internal rebellions, n**on-territorial** yet slowly territorializing conflicts through cyber wars and information wars that aim to **shape perceptions without immediate physical occupation.**

The result is the use of advanced technology in conventional warfare **without concentration and involvement of large**

troops, with wide-ranging **constraints on logistics** without which no war can be waged.

Some argue that this transformation is due to **the possibility and threat of nuclear war.**

2.3-Nuclear war

Most nuclear powers like the U.S and Russia maintain policies that permit the **first use** of nuclear weapons in certain scenarios, while **China has an unconditional "No First Use"** (NFU) policy, and India has an NFU policy **with exceptions.**

A "first strike" in nuclear weapon terms is a **preemptive surprise attack** using overwhelming force to cripple an adversary's nuclear capability, **aiming to prevent a second strike.** The idea that countries like India with an NFU policy somehow make their nuclear weapons less effective or turn them into "magical weapons" **is largely incorrect. Possessing nuclear weapons,** regardless of the specific policy about first use, fundamentally changes international relations. It creates immense **fear and uncertainty** in potential adversaries due to Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD). Even countries with NFU implicitly rely on MAD – the understanding that any adversary attacking them **would face catastrophic retaliation**, potentially from a country that wasn't initially planning its own first strike **but could be forced into it under extreme duress.**

The NFU declaration primarily concerns itself with the "conditions" for using nuclear weapons. For countries like **India and Pakistan,** both declared NFU, this policy signals a commitment to **retaliatory strikes**, not preemptive ones designed to achieve decisive military objectives before warning is received. So, while

the specific "first use" capability differs between nations with NFU versus those without, like Russia or China historically, **both groups still possess weapons of existential power for their adversaries.** The weapon remains potent; its primary intended use simply **shifts from surprise attack to assured response.**

Uncertainty Around Nuclear Arsenal Size is an important factor. T**he exact global nuclear stockpile is unknown** beyond official declarations, which are themselves **highly debatable.** However, even without precise numbers, major powers, Russia, the US, China, and regional states like India and Pakistan maintain arsenals considered **large enough to inflict unacceptable damage on any conceivable target, including through second-strike capability.** The uncertainty exists more around smaller nuclear forces or those of other potential actors than the declared stockpiles of established nuclear powers/India/Pakistan.

Although quantity **is a key deterrent factor, the** crucial elements go **far beyond simple "first use" capability, including the quality and quantity of** launchers and Anti-Missile Technologies. MIRVs (multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles) on ICBMs drastically increase the **destructive potential** of a retaliatory strike by allowing **fewer missiles to carry multiple warhead**s that target different parts of an enemy's homeland. Different types of launch platforms (ICBMs, SLBMs from submarines, strategic bombers, tactical nukes delivered via conventional aircraft/platforms) significantly **alter the nature and range of nuclear threats.**

While **no system is foolproof** against dedicated state-of-the-art attacks or sophisticated countermeasures, advanced missile

defense can reduce an adversary's confidence that a ballistic missile launch will guarantee a hit. This slightly **weakens deterrence** based purely on MAD.

For countries like India, the core point of NFU is strategic credibility. By committing to not using nuclear weapons first, **they ensure a massive retaliatory capability exists** even if attacked with their own nukes or by other means. This guarantees that an **adversary cannot win decisively through a surprise nuclear attack**, thereby maintaining deterrence. Countries adopting NFU are not inviting destruction; **they are assuring destruction** for the aggressor should it occur. **The concern is whether** a country can destroy its enemy with a preemptive strike while also ensuring its own second-strike capability survives. First/surprise attacks against prepared adversaries can fail, and **the attacked country could always retaliate.** Countries adopting NFU are implicitly saying they believe their adversary might be capable of surviving an initial strike or that **MAD itself is sufficient deterrence.**

It's not valid to consider a "**No First Use**" policy as evidence that nuclear weapons "themselves" are "magical" **but useless because some countries explicitly state it.** Countries with NFU still **possess** incredibly destructive capabilities and rely heavily on the principle of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD), including their own ability to **inflict massive retaliatory damage**, for deterrence. That's why h**aving robust second-strike capability and potentially advanced defensive systems is "more" important** than just whether you can launch first. The NFU policy **enhances credibility by guaranteeing destruction** even if a preemptive strike doesn't succeed or the target survives,

although **surviving** an initial nuclear blast exchange **is unlikely** for large populations/industrial complexes/cities, or small countries like Israel.

The official declaration of an adversary's **nuclear arsenal size matters less** than their **"intended" use;** whether they have declared NFU or not. Both groups understand that even through assured, rather than preemptive, destruction, the sheer destructive power makes them fundamentally different and game-changing tools on the strategic landscape. Countries with a declared **NFU policy are not helpless simply because they don't authorize surprise attacks;** their arsenal size (MIRVs) and assured second-strike capability (guaranteed by NFU and MAD) **make their nuclear forces extremely dangerous,** specifically deterring "any" adversary who might entertain thoughts of **trying to win decisively through a first strike**. The existence of these weapons remains the central reason why nations are deterred – it is precisely because they know that under any circumstance (NFU or not), **using them against countries like Russia would invite catastrophic consequences for the attacker,** potentially involving total national annihilation even if limited nuclear exchanges occur or MAD doesn't operate exactly as originally feared in a **purely theoretical sense.**

In other words, having nuclear weapons and striking first **does not guarantee the destruction of a nuclear power country**, but possibly may bring about the **destruction of the first attacker**. In that sense, nuclear weapons have only a deterrent effect. I will not dwell on this subject here; my article "**Who Actually Makes the Decisions** for Foreign Policy in the US? Conflict Within the Bureaucracy"* can give a better idea of "who" makes such

decisions, and the article “On the likelihood of a Nuclear war”** responds to the fundamental question of why it is unlikely.

2.4-The Systemic Shift: New Deterrents, and the "Neutrality" Paradox

Nuclear war hasn't become "a thing of the past" in possibility, but has become **“strategically irrational” and highly unlikely between nuclear peers.** It acts as the ultimate ceiling, a psychological operation narrative and fearmongering; **proxy wars have become the floor beneath this ceiling** as the only viable option.

The perpetual **theoretical possibility of nuclear exchange** masks its **practical impossibility** under **finance capital's hegemony.** War is an extension of politics, but **politics in the imperialist core is an extension of the loss-benefit calculation balance-sheet.** The bureaucratic class embedded within finance capital operates on a risk-reward calculus that supersedes even nationalistic military ambition; a strategic nuclear strike would instantaneously sever global settlement systems, obliterate cross-border debt securitization, and physically annihilate the prime urban real estate and logistical hubs that underpin global accumulation. Unlike the Cold War's ideological brinkmanship, today's f**inancial oligarchy possesses no 'victory scenario**'; only systemic liquidation of its own assets and circulation mechanisms. Consequently, **nuclear weapons have transitioned from a tool of warfare to a purel**y “negative deterrent”; they ensure the non-escalation of direct great-power conflict, but they **actively shape the proxy** and cyber battlefields below the nuclear threshold.

Having rendered physical nuclear war structurally unviable for its own backers, imperialist capital has simply been forced to displace the concept of 'existential threat' **onto the digital and energetic** architectures of t**he new technological era.**

After decades of financialization and **de-industrialization,** the US economy now functions as a tripartite **consumer state** (reliant on a war-tech/services complex, speculative finance, and GMO-agribusiness exports), **while its physical manufacturing base has atrophied.** Crucially, its **entire advanced military arsenal**, from precision-guided munitions to stealth aviation, **depends on rare-earth elements and their refined magnet alloys,** over which China now holds a near-monopoly in **both mining and downstream processing.** The consequence is twofold: **first, the US has critically depleted its deep-strike arsenals** in recent conventional engagements, with **replenishment timelines now measured in years rather than months** due to supply-chain bottlenecks; **second,** even if Washington were to secure immediate access to these ores, **the rebuilding of its industrial throughput**—shuttered foundries, lost metallurgical expertise, and contracted tooling lines—**cannot be accelerated by decree.** The US retains the "brand" of hyperpower, but **its "muscle" is finite.** Thus, the **preference for proxies is not a choice of convenience,** but **one of material necessity:** it must export its firepower because **it can no longer regenerate** it domestically at the speed of modern warfare. It is the industrial and supply-side constraint" on imperial power.

That's why the **shift to proxy warfare** is not merely a tactical preference; it is a **structural imperative** for the United States. This logistical paralysis, paired with the **nuclear veto of finance**

capital discussed earlier, **forces** the Pentagon into a managerial role; equipping, advising, and resupplying local allies **rather than leading the charge itself.**

Contrary to the claim of "realists" like Professor Mearsheimer, who attribute US proxy **strategy to rational balancing**, the US is **"structurally compelled"** into proxy warfare by its **own internal decay,** reinforcing Lenin's emphasis on **finance capital's internal contradictions**.

2.5-The New "Strategic Weapons" Alternative to "nuclear weapons.

Control of Resources; rare-earth minerals and energy, Fiber-Optics: internet disruption, and Food; from fertilizer to distribution, are **the new "nuclear weapons"** in the new era.

In a nuclear war with a worldwide internet and financial shutdown, capital will most likely be the ultimate loser, since people have nothing to lose. Other than that, in the case economic crises, inflation, an increase in the cost of insurance etc., Finance Capital always benefits, only people lose; at best the tax payers money is transferred to the Finance capital somehow, someway; weather it is by transferring the tax payers money to military-tech industry or by monopolizing the small banks, other industries with the tax payers money. There is not one case in history where they were the losers.

2.6-Rare Earth Minerals

"Especially in our era, **high-tech industries are heavily reliant on rare earth minerals** for their operations and are particularly susceptible to the effects of tariffs. These industries might face

higher costs and reduced competitiveness if tariffs are not matched by comparable increases in **domestic production capacity.** As technology evolves, new applications for rare earth minerals are emerging, particularly in renewable energy and medical fields. Their role is expected to expand as technology advances. High demand, coupled with **costly extraction processes,** influences product pricing and **affects multiple industries…** rare earth minerals are integral to various **military technologies** and systems, from radar and communication to energy storage and stealth applications. **Understanding their role in advanced defense industries** and addressing environmental and supply chain challenges is **crucial for the military industry's future."** *(17)* The production of high military-high tech industry products requires the "supply" material necessary for the intended goods. Regardless of the pre-existing industry for any given product, regardless of the financial capability, without having access to the "supply" of required "material", those goods cannot be produced, or at best case not at the same quantity, quality, cost and timely. China has seven critical rare earth metals and dominates 90% of global production. In addition, China controls 93% of the world market for manufacturing permanent magnets required for military machines. Cutting off these materials to other countries would have **decisive effects** on the **military and high-tech industries of any given country.**

Disrupting undersea cables and critical cyber infrastructure would not merely be an "internet outage"; it would trigger a systemic, cascading failure of the modern global economy. Undersea cables carry approximately 95% to 99% of all international data traffic, acting as the **central nervous system of global**

finance, trade, and communication. I am not equating the physical destruction of a cable with a thermonuclear blast, but to denote its systemic equivalence—a weapon capable of inducing a civilization-wide cascading collapse within hours, comparable in strategic shock to a limited nuclear exchange, yet **remaining within the calculable risk-tolerance of** finance capital.

2.7-Impact on Financial Institutions - Finance capital

The effects of the disruption on the cyber infrastructure **on finance capital** can give a better idea on comparison **with the use of a nuclear weapon.** For banks, stock exchanges, and global trade networks, connectivity is not a luxury; **it is the fundamental mechanism of their existence.** Any disruption of connectivity will paralyze global payments and Settlements. International wire transfers rely on the SWIFT messaging network, which routes through these cables. A disruption would freeze cross-border payments. Importers could not pay exporters, and **multinational corporations** could not move capital between subsidiaries, and the foreign exchange market they control relies on continuous, real-time global pricing without connectivity. **Banks cannot hedge currency risks** or execute international trades, leading to massive, uncontrolled volatility and a freeze in currency conversion.

Modern financial markets are dominated by algorithmic trading, which relies on microsecond latency to execute trades based on global data. If cables are cut, data feeds are delayed or lost entirely. Exchanges would likely trigger automatic circuit breakers, **halting trading entirely to prevent market crashes.** Traders rely on price differences between markets. Disrupted cables

create "blind spots," making arbitrage impossible and **destroying market liquidity.**

Global trade relies on digital verification of shipping containers, customs documents, and letters of credit. If cyber infrastructure goes down, cargo ships cannot be cleared at ports, and goods cannot be released, instantly **halting the physical supply chain.**

Financial institutions must maintain real-time, geographically dispersed backups of their ledgers. A severe **cyber infrastructure failure** breaks the synchronization between primary data centers and disaster recovery sites, risking **permanent data corruption or loss of transaction records.**

Its Impact on the Average Person

For the average citizen, these disruptions would instantly **revert society to a pre-digital state,** but without the **physical cash reserves** to support the population. Card readers and ATMs require a connection to a central server to verify account balances and authorize transactions. Within hours, consumers would be unable to buy groceries, pay for gas, or withdraw cash. Systems like Apple Pay, PayPal, Venmo, and Alipay would become entirely useless, cutting off the primary payment method **for a massive portion of the population.**

Platforms like Amazon, eBay, and Alibaba would stop functioning. Order processing, tracking, and digital payment gateways (like Stripe) would fail, halting the flow of goods to consumers. Millions of people who rely on app-based work (Uber, Lyft, DoorDash, freelance platforms) would instantly lose their

livelihood. Without GPS routing, payment processing, and customer-server communication, these platforms go dark.

People could**n't pay rent**, mortgages, or utility bills online. While grace periods might eventually be granted, initial confusion would spike late fees and automated penalties.

Modern work relies on cloud infrastructure If the cyber backbone fails, tools like Slack, Microsoft Teams, Salesforce, and company databases become inaccessible. Remote and hybrid workforces would be entirely paralyzed.

International and often domestic communication would fail. People would be unable to check on family members during a crisis.

Modern 911/emergency dispatch systems rely on cyber infrastructure to route calls, access medical records, and coordinate with hospitals. A disruption could lead to fatal delays in emergency response.

The **real danger of this scenario** is not the initial outage, but the **secondary and tertiary failures it triggers** across physical society.

Modern "smart grids" rely on constant data flow to balance **electrical loads**. Without cyber infrastructure, grids can become unstable, leading to cascading blackouts. Municipal **water treatment plants** and pumping stations are heavily automated and remotely monitored. Disruptions could lead to water shortages or the pumping of untreated sewage.

When the bank cards fail, panic will ensue. Anyone with physical cash will hoard it, and those without will rush to bank

branches to withdraw their life savings. Since banks only hold a fraction of their deposits in physical cash, branches will run out of money within hours, **sparking riots and severe civil unrest.** Electronic locks, security cameras, and automated logistics for police/military forces would fail, leading to a spike in opportunistic looting and crime.

Disrupting undersea cables and cyber infrastructure is the ultimate "choke point" of our era. For Finance-Capital, financial institutions, **it means billions of dollars in losses and frozen global trade.** For the average person, it means an immediate inability to feed themselves, access their money, or communicate with loved ones, rapidly devolving from a technological glitch into a **severe humanitarian crisis**. While a cyber-attack, as discussed previously, breaks **the flow of information**, oil and gas disruption breaks the **world's physical flow**.

While the immediate and most visible impact of global oil and gas disruption is the loss of electricity, heating, and transportation fuel, the **deeper, more devastating impacts** lie in how these resources serve as the fundamental raw materials for modern civilization. Oil and natural gas are not just burned for energy; they are the physical building blocks of **global agriculture**, **manufacturing**, and **the modern supply chain**.

Modern agriculture is essentially a process of using energy **to produce food**. A disruption in oil and gas does not just **make farming more expensive**; it physically halts the mechanisms that feed people. **Natural gas** is the primary feedstock for producing ammonia, which is the foundation of **synthetic nitrogen fertilizers**. Without natural gas, **global fertilizer production** would plummet by 50% to 70% almost immediately. Nearly

half of the global population is sustained by crops grown with synthetic fertilizers. Without them, crop yields would revert to early 20th-century levels. Wheat, corn, and rice production would crash, leading to **immediate, catastrophic global famine.** Tractors, combine harvesters, irrigation pumps, and grain transport vehicles run almost exclusively on diesel. A fuel shortage means fields cannot be plowed, planted, or harvested. Agrochemicals are heavily derived from petroleum. Without them, crop losses to pests and weeds would skyrocket, further compounding the yield reductions caused by the lack of fertilizer.

Oil and gas are the lifeblood of the petrochemical industry. A disruption would strip modern manufacturing down to its barest essentials, as the physical materials required to build and maintain modern society would simply cease to exist. Over 60% of modern clothing is made from synthetic fibers like polyester, nylon, and acrylic, all derived from petroleum. The global textile and apparel industry would face an immediate raw materials cliff. Processing raw ore into usable metals requires immense, continuous heat, often provided by natural gas or coal, which relies on diesel transport. The supply of steel, aluminum, and copper would freeze, halting construction, infrastructure repair, and electronics manufacturing. **Every machine,** wind turbine, vehicle, and factory on Earth requires petroleum-based lubricants to prevent metal-on-metal friction. Without them, **mechanical assets seize up and are destroyed within months.**

The economic shockwave of an oil and gas disruption would impact on employment and move from direct industry losses to a **total collapse of the consumer economy**.

Farm workers, truck drivers, freight train operators, and cargo ship crews would lose their jobs as moving goods becomes impossible. Factory workers in automotive, textiles, plastics, and electronics would face permanent plant closures. Without raw materials, manufacturing employment would evaporate. The economy would enter a severe state of stagflation driven by the scarcity of food and basic goods combined with **mass unemployment and stagnant economic output.** Without the ability to source materials, transport goods, or sell to impoverished consumers, most small and medium-sized enterprises would go bankrupt, **permanently erasing millions of jobs.**

The resulting **unemployment** would not just be a temporary recession; it would represent a permanent structural shift. The global workforce would be forced out of the digital, service, and manufacturing sectors, and violently pushed back into primary survival industries, fundamentally altering the human standard of living for a generation.

Nuclear weapons act as a primary **deterrent against direct war**, but not a **viable solution** for the **Finance capital.** However, control over energy, food, and the capability to disrupt undersea cables/cyber-infrastructure **function as "alternative nuclear weapons"** capable of **collapsing a state** and/or states without the need to drop a single bomb. While **a nuclear war** between superpowers is in no way **in the interests of Finance-Capital, because it would be suicide for them,** a **localized use** of such **alternatives to nuclear weapons** may, in some cases, serve Finance-Capital's interests based on their loss-benefit calculations.

"The nuclear threat narrative is **a psychological operation,** not **a policy option**. Global finance capital **will not permit a suicidal escalation** that destroys the circulation of value. The **real weapons of the digital age** are economic disruption (Strait of Hormuz, undersea cables), not nuclear weapons." (7)

Nuclear war, war-mongering and fear-mongering directed at pacifying the masses. Reformism is promoted by fear-mongering. The s**uperpowers can carry out this structural chokepoint,** yet one would hesitate to use it directly against the other. Here comes again the subject of **proxies and proxy** wars with the plausibility of denial.

2.8-Proxy war Era

Conflicts initiated or supported by major state actors (e.g., US, Russia, China) but fought primarily by other states, non-state actors like rebel groups, militias, or even international coalitions using foreign proxies. This may directly extend the idea that **capitalism requires competition over vital interests.**

As Lenin suggested, finding a "small neighboring country" of the enemy for proxy is one form, but today's context includes smaller nations **within contested regions** and **non-state entities** that are ideologically aligned or **geographically relevant to the superpowers.** Proxy wars **allow major powers to engage** in military-like interventions **without necessarily triggering direct confrontation between themselves for the reasons explained earlier.**

While still **potentially devastating** due to advanced technology, **proxy wars** often involve more **localized territorial objectives** and can be **prolonged and attritional** compared to the total

war vision of major imperialist conflicts from a century ago. They represent slowly territorializing forms of conflict that fit capitalist interests. The manipulation of information, fear-mongering, propaganda are integral parts of this warfare – **both direct and proxy.**

The **fear of direct annihilation prevents head-on collisions between superpowers but doesn't eliminate the need for conflict**; **it just pushes methods into more complex, subtle territory. As recent history has proven** (Georgia, Ukraine, Iran, Myanmar), the execution of wars has become much more **indirect** than in the direct wars phase. By avoiding direct war, proxy warfare creates greater ambiguity and attribution challenges.

Modern proxy wars are incredibly complex, **involving multiple actors** with potentially conflicting agendas. Imperialist proxy war is fundamentally tied to its underlying essence: geopolitical and economic interests. **Proxy warfare is a major vector for this competition**, enabled by technology, which also allows sophisticated espionage, cyber ops, and other forms. **Proxy wars make plausible deniability easier:** actions are attributed to local actors rather than directly to national leadership, **making international responses more complex or hesitant.**

In essence, **Capitalism still requires war, but modern technology lets it be waged in more complex and varied forms,** including sophisticated proxies for major geopolitical conflicts, or even internal ones masked as external intervention. **The tools of warfare have expanded beyond the physical battlefield.**

However, this development opens the door for many small- and medium-sized countries to adopt “neutrality” to reduce the risk

of being used as a war proxy. **The mechanism of counterbalancing proxy Wars and national liberation** involves complex diplomatic maneuvering, intelligence operations, training, arming, funding, and potentially coordinating actions through multilateral frameworks, though often circumventing them. Cyber warfare, information control, economic sanctions, and drone strikes are modern tools **integrated into this form of conflict.**

2.9-Neutrality paradox

Under the conditions of a "**unipolar world**, aligning with the sole superpower was a **more calculated risk**. The superpower's word carried more weight, and its ability to project power was unmatched.

In a **multi-polar world**, with a rising China, an emerging Russia, and regional powers like Iran, the **calculation changed entirely.** The choice of neutrality, or what one may prefer to term "multi-alignment under duress," which equals "neutral" positions on the issues, whether it is voluntary or not. It is important to clarify that some would choose "multi-alignment = neutrality under duress," while others see it as a pragmatic reality shaped by their geographical situation. Neutrality in this multipolar era is **not a singular state**, but a spectrum. For geographically privileged states like Turkey, it is a proactive, opportunistic multi-alignment to extract benefits. It is **not truly neutral,** but self-interested. For geographically exposed states like Gulf monarchies, it is a **reactive survival mechanism under duress**. Both manifest as non-alignment in practice, but their internal dynamics differ.

"The family-states of the Gulf were no longer just hosting US bases; they were **placing themselves on one side of multiple**, overlapping global and regional power struggles. They **became a potential frontline** in a US-China conflict, a US-Russia conflict, and a US/Iran-Israel conflict simultaneously. As the world transitions from a unipolar to a multipolar world, they have become "a proxy battlefield."

Multipolar world order shatters the **monopoly on protection.** The US **can no longer guarantee absolute protection** against all comers, as the Iranian strikes demonstrated. The cost of defending them against a **near-peer competitor** or a determined regional power with its own superpower backers becomes astronomically high and uncertain.

"The risk and benefit", **both sides of this equation, are now collapsing simultaneously.** The confluence of events- **depleted arsenals**, a new major war, and a shift in U.S. strategic doctrine- is creating a perfect storm that is fundamentally **devaluing the "security guarantee"** that U.S. bases are supposed to provide.

The U.S. is facing **critical weapons shortages,** its new defense strategy is **explicitly deprioritizing the defense of allies** in favor of homeland and hemispheric defense, and this combination is forcing allies from Europe to East Asia to confront a terrifying new reality: the **bases that were meant to be their "protective umbrella" may now leave them as exposed** and undefended.

… The traditional "vassal" model, where a nation trades sovereignty for security **by hosting a superpower's bases,** is predicated on that **security being credible and guaranteed.** Hosting a U.S. base provided a "credible guarantee of protection" **in a**

unipolar world. The military base symbolized the alliance's **"shared security**." The alliance was an unequal partnership and "transactional". The U.S. **always acted in its own interest**, and the host nation's security was **secondary.**

The U.S. is now a "**depleted superpower**" fighting multiple wars, with a doctrine of "**limited support.**" The credibility and guarantee of safety have disappeared. The U.S. is effectively **dismantling the very foundation of its alliance system**. By withdrawing the protective assets while leaving the vulnerable bases in place, Washington is demonstrating that its allies are **now just forward-deployed platforms expendable** in strategy and **deniable in defense**.

The next process for the countries seems to be an inclination **from "alliance with military bases"** to alliance without military bases" in the direction of **"non-alignment"- a neutral posture. The path to neutrality, once unthinkable, may soon look like the only prudent option for small countries."** *(8)*

The era of "active neutrality" is on the horizon. Because **great powers are mutually deterred and resource-dependent**, small/medium states are no **longer forced into** rigid Cold War blocs. They can now leverage their **geographic position** and **rare-earth deposits** to **bargain with multiple poles** simultaneously (e.g., Turkey, Saudi Arabia, India).

Proxy warfare in our multipolar world era **is structural cage**, **not a choice** of bellicose imperialism. Illusions of "**no more world wars** " spread by the fact that direct wars between the imperialists have become unlikely.

2.9-Multipolar world order

A multipolar world order, meaning a few large powers instead of one dominant superpower, does, in principle, make it h**arder for any single entity**, even a very large power like US or China, to exert **total dominance** and control over **distant regions.**

As noted above, the US preference for proxy warfare is not a geopolitical strategy; **it is industrial triage**. Decades of **financialization have hollowed out its mid-tier manufacturing**, leaving its advanced military sector **dangerously dependent on rare-earth elements**, specifically neodymium, praseodymium, and dysprosium, which are **essential for guidance gyroscopes, jet engine blades, radar-absorbent coatings, and permanent magnets in precision munitions.** China controls over 85% of global refining and nearly all heavy-rare-earth processing; **without these inputs,** the Pentagon simply **cannot produce** or sustain airframes, naval strike platforms, or hypersonic glide vehicles **technologically "equivalent"** to those already deployed by Russia or rapidly advancing in China's arsenal. **The result is a double-bind:** US deep-strike inventories have been **critically depleted by recent campaigns**, yet replenishment requires a domestic refining and fabrication ecosystem that was **offshored decades ago** and cannot be rebuilt within a single procurement cycle. Consequently, even with emergency access to raw ores, restoring technological parity **would take at least five to seven years.** Faced with this temporal and material deficit, Washington is **structurally compelled to fight by proxy**; arming, financing, and integrating allied forces into its targeting networks,

because **it lacks industrial metabolism** to wage a high-intensity peer-to-peer conventional war on its own.

US, as a de-industrialized consumer state, has lost its metabolic capacity to regenerate peer-level weaponry; imperialism's highest stage **is not just finance capital**. It is **finance capital that has cannibalized its own industrial bas**e, rendering it **reliant on its primary rival** just to maintain its arsenal.

"Widely repeated rhetoric of **"World War 3"** and the context in which it is used -a nuclear war- **has become a thing of the past** for the time being. World War 3 is already going on in a **different form with varying intensity.**" (9)

The transition to multipolarity introduces complexity and potentially more avenues for struggle through indirect methods like proxy wars. However, it hasn't eliminated the fundamental drivers or forms of imperialism described by Lenin and Marx.

2.10-Emerging anti-imperialist trend

Rejection of anti-imperialist wars has been the trend of overt and covert anti-Leninists for decades. Regardless of the changes in the form of imperialist wars, **anti-imperialist wars have always been on the agenda**. It was easier to curtail and crush during the unipolar world order, but in our Multipolar world order it has already gained momentum, and with new technology we will see more countries gaining political independence.

Leninists distinguish between **"political independence"** and **"economic dependence".** Economic interdependence is a universal condition of global capitalism, but "political sovereignty", the ability to determine one's own internal and

external policy without imperial diktat, is **the decisive variable.** The US is deeply economically dependent on Chinese manufacturing, yet remains politically sovereign because its state apparatus serves its own monopoly capital, not Beijing's. China is dependent on Russian and Gulf energy, yet its political line is entirely its own.

Criticizing the argument: "In the epoch (era) of this unbridled imperialism, **there can be no more national wars.** National interests serve only as an instrument of deception, to deliver the masses of the toiling people into the service of their mortal enemy, imperialism.... is that the world has been divided up among a handful of "Great" imperialist powers, and, therefore, every war, even if it starts as a national war, is transformed into an imperialist war and affects the interests of one of the imperialist Powers or coalitions", Lenin stated; "**The fallacy of this argument is obvious.** Of course, the fundamental proposition of Marxian dialectics is that all boundaries in nature and society are conventional and mobile, that **there is not a single phenomenon which cannot under certain conditions be transformed into its opposite.** A **national war** can be transformed into an imperialist war, and vice versa." **"Only a sophist would deny** that **there is a difference between imperialist war and national war** on the grounds that one can be transformed into the other. National wars waged by colonial and semi-colonial countries are **not only possible but inevitable in the epoch of imperialism. "***(10)*

This new era will be defined by "active neutrality" (previously a passive anti-imperialist stand) and active "anti-imperialist wars" alongside "proxy wars". "To deny all possibility of

national wars under imperialism is wrong in theory" said Lenin and continued; "to fall into **negation of wars really waged for liberating nations** is to present **the worst possible caricature of Marxism.** .....Rejection of "defense of the fatherland" in a democratic war, i.e., rejecting participation in such a war, is an absurdity that **has nothing in common with Marxism.**" (11)

A national movement's success, as always has been, still **fundamentally depends on internal dynamics:** political will among the population and ruling elites, and the country's resource endowments. As Stalin summarized Lenin's theory: "The revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples in the dependent and colonial countries against imperialism is the only road that leads to their emancipation from oppression and exploitation." (12)

The popular anti-Leninist argument in the name of Leninism is that socialists would and could not support the anti-imperialist struggles of "reactionary" classes. The reality as spelled out by Stalin is that " **The revolutionary character of a national movement** under the conditions of imperialist oppression **does not necessarily presuppose the existence of proletarian elements in the movement,** the existence of a revolutionary or a republican program of the movement, **the existence of a democratic basis of the movement.** The struggle that the Emir of Afghanistan is waging for the independence of **Afghanistan is objectively a revolutionary struggle,** despite the monarchist views of the Emir and his associates, **for it weakens, disintegrates and undermines imperialism.**" He explains the reason by saying that " Lenin was right in saying that the national movement of the oppressed countries **should be appraised not from the point of view of formal democracy**, but from the point of view of the

actual results, as shown by the **general balance sheet** of the struggle against imperialism, that is to say, "**not in isolation, but on a world scale.**" (12)

During the unipolar world order, most "communist", "socialist parties" chose reformism under the threat and violent practice of aggressive imperialism. In the new era, multipolar world order, this fear and attitude will have to change. Therefore, **we can anticipate an era characterized by both national conflicts** against dominant powers' interventions and **imperialist proxy wars,** where these two dynamics **are intertwined and can potentially transform into one another under complex conditions** driven by competition over vital interests. **The form might change, but the underlying essence of imperialist-driven conflict remains central to understanding international relations in this period.**

This complexity could **indirectly facilitate national movements and strengthen them with the international support of socialists.** Inevitably, It will create a more crowded geopolitical landscape with potentially **diverging interests among major powers** (e.g., Russia, US, EU, China). A small country like **Mali or Burkina Faso** might find itself playing off one power against another.

In this new era, for most of the medium and small states, **neutrality is no longer passive**; it is an **"active, offensive** strategy of political decoupling". The Sahel countries (Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger) are the vanguard of this development. French and US military bases did not bring "protection"; they turned the Sahel into a target zone for NATO's proxy war against Libyan remnants and Russian influence. By expelling these bases and

turning toward Russian private military contractors (and politically toward the broader anti-imperialist coalition), these states are **not** "**choosing a new master.**" They are **reclaiming political sovereignty.** They remain economically dependent (on mining exports, on grain imports), but they have broken the **"political" command chain.** This will be the trend across West Africa, Central Asia, and parts of Latin America: **states will leverage multiple power poles** (China, Russia, the Global South blocs) to play off imperial demands and **secure their own political room to maneuver.**

The Technological Factor with Equalizing Asymmetric Warfare is where cost-effective technology makes **anti-imperialist wars "more" viable, not less**.

Lenin taught that the decisive factor in war is the will and c**onsciousness of the masses combined with the material means to fight**. Today, a $5,000 loitering munition or a cheap naval drone can mission-kill a $10 million main battle tank or harass a billion-dollar destroyer. The Houthi operations in the Red Sea, carried out with relatively primitive yet effective missiles and drones, demonstrated that a medium-sized power can impose strategic costs on a global hegemon without matching its air force or navy. For countries facing Western-backed proxies, this technological diffusion means that **"the cost of defending political independence has dropped exponentially"**. An anti-imperialist military power in the Sahel, or an anti-imperialist government in Latin America, **does not need a massive military industrial complex** to deter intervention. It needs enough cheap, smart systems to make the price of US/West interference prohibitive. This shifts the correlation of forces firmly toward **the defender of**

national sovereignty. Technology makes it harder in some geographical locations but easier in others. Due to its cost, in a multipolar world order, they can get an indirect supply of these weapons, like against the latest Jihadist attacks in Sahel. It always depends on who benefits most: whether the war or conflict is between two neighboring countries with support from multiple parties, an internal one, or far from any superpower.

Myanmar is a distinct but overlapping category. It is not a classic anti-colonial war against a foreign occupier; **it is a "civil proxy war" deeply entangled with the multipolar transition.** The anti-junta forces are fragmented; some are genuinely democratic and anti-imperialist, but others are backed by Western intelligence apparatuses seeking to dismantle China's corridor projects and contain Beijing's influence. The Junta- now in civil power- leans on Russian military advisors and retains economic ties with Beijing. It is a proxy war of US/NATO indirectly backing the military wing of Washington-based Myanmar exiled government NUG. (14)

In this new era, we will see more of these "**gray-zone" proxy wars**, where the main powers (US, China, Russia) do not directly confront each other, but finance, arm, and advise rival internal factions. The US, depleted in direct military arsenal and industrial capacity, will increasingly rely on these low-cost, high-leverage proxy theaters to slow down the rise of the multipolar poles.

The era is defined by the "coexistence" of these three phenomena, not one replacing the other. **"Neutrality" is the political "goal"** of states that have witnessed the cost of alignment. "Anti-imperialist wars" are the **"active, armed**

expression" of refusing Western command chains. "Proxy wars" are the "imperialist reaction", the declining hegemon's attempt to offset its industrial and military decline by burning down other people's houses.

This is a "material necessity" of the objective conditions. The **multipolar order is not a peaceful utopia**; it is a violent, chaotic transition. But within that chaos**, the window for genuine political independence has widened** precisely because the hegemon can no longer afford **to fight everywhere at once.** The smaller states that leverage this window, equip themselves with **cost-effective defensive tech,** and maintain political vigilance will be the ones to survive and consolidate their sovereignty.

Latin America

I also stated in one article that a declining US will have to **focus on its backyard** more than anywhere else. The US will have to pivot to Latin America, forced to focus more on its backyard as its Asian and European proxy wars falter or become stalemates. But here, the US will face a different problem: "Latin American states who already have a history of anti-imperialist struggle are learning the Sahel lesson". They see that having US bases does not protect them—it makes them targets for US enemies. They see that the "Washington Consensus" is dead, and that BRICS+ offers alternative financial architecture: the New Development Bank, swap lines, local currency trade. However, because China and Russia **cannot project power there directly,** the "form" of their involvement will remain **"defensive and economic"**, providing satellite intelligence to counter US surveillance; and offering diplomatic coverage in the OAS and UN.

The **primary" struggle in Latin America** will be won or lost **by "Latin Americans themselves"**; the popular movements in Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, and the Southern Cone. Russia and China will be the **"external conditions"** that make victory possible, **not the "agents" of that victory.** Russia and China cannot do much directly in Latin America." Logistical distances, the **lack of power-projection** naval bases, and the historical weight of the Monroe Doctrine impose strict limits. However, their involvement takes a **"qualitative, not quantitative" form**.

China's Role would be the Economic lifeline and diplomatic shield. China is already the top trading partner for Brazil, Chile, Peru, and Argentina. It provides an "alternative market" for raw materials and agricultural exports, breaking the US's historic monopsony. More critically, China offers "development financing **without IMF-style political, social, structural strings attached,"** which historically strangled Latin American sovereignty. When a Latin American government faces US pressure, Beijing's UN veto power and trade contracts give those states "**political breathing room"**.

Russia's Role would be a military-technical niche and cybersecurity support. Russia cannot send the Pacific Fleet to the Caribbean, but it **can provide** advanced air defense systems, counterintelligence training, and diplomatic backing in the UNSC.

The US will "focus" in its backyard, but it will find that its traditional tools- economic coercion, CIA-backed coups- are blunted by **the existence of Chinese capital** and **Russian military hardware.** However, the **"primary" engine of anti-imperialist struggle** in Latin America will **remain "internal"**; the **indigenous and working-class movements** that have historically resisted

US domination. China and Russia are “secondary stabilizers”, **not front-line combatants.**

Africa seems to be the Primary Battlefield for Multipolar Political Independence. It is the arena where **Russian and Chinese involvement is direct,** tangible, and game-changing. Here, the degree and form of their involvement are distinct but complementary: the “"Military-Economic Dual Strategy."“ Russia's role is the “Security Guarantor” and military disruptor: high visibility, boots on the ground, but limited total manpower. Russia provided rapid-response military support to sovereign governments facing Western-backed insurgencies like Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, and CAR. This allows these governments to **expel French and US bases** without immediately collapsing under jihadist or rebel offensives. Russia supplied and can supply cost-effective air defense systems and reconnaissance drones that neutralize NATO's air-superiority advantage. Russia's information warfare apparatus actively counters the French-language media monopoly in Francophone Africa, providing alternative narratives that delegitimize Western intervention and frame the juntas as legitimate nationalists.

Contrary to the arguments based on learned-by-rote theories, Russia, **under current conditions**, does not seek to colonize Africa. **It seeks to “deny” the US/NATO the ability to use African territory, resources, and UN votes against Russia**. It creates a "cost-imposing" strategy: any US attempt to reassert dominance in the Sahel will face direct armed resistance involving Russian advisors and contractors, raising the body count and political cost for Washington.

China's Role would be the “Economic Infrastructure” and Long-Term Developmental Partner with a massive economic footprint, but cautious military non-entanglement. China does not send troops. It sends engineers, financiers, and infrastructure contractors. China is pivoting from giant, **debt-heavy mega-projects** to more targeted, scalable infrastructure like railways, power grids, digital fiber-optic networks, and deep-water ports (e.g., Tanzania, Mauritania). This builds the **“material base” for genuine economic independence** by allowing resource-rich African states to export minerals without routing them through Western-controlled ports or colonial-era railway monopolies. China signs long-term, fixed-price contracts for critical minerals (cobalt, lithium, rare earths, copper) that guarantee revenue streams for African governments **“outside” the IMF-controlled financial system**. This breaks the traditional colonial circuit in which Western multinationals (Glencore, Barrick) extracted African resources, leaving little for the state.

Contrary to Western "debt trap" propaganda, China is increasingly willing to restructure or extend debt terms for struggling African states (e.g., Zambia, Ethiopia) in exchange for long-term strategic cooperation, effectively buying political goodwill **without demanding regime capitulation.** China's goal is to secure supply chains and create a vast, resource-exporting hinterland that is **“politically non-hostile” to Beijing.** It does not need African states to be "communist"; it needs them to be **independent enough to resist US pressure** to decouple from Chinese trade.

Dialectically, Russia and China can “enable” African political independence. The materialist truth that the Western media obscures is that neither Russia nor China is "replacing" the colonial

powers because they cannot, and they do not intend to, **for their own calculated interests**. What they provide is a **"multipolar safety net**". Previously, when a West African state expelled the French, it faced an immediate military backlash or a crippling economic strangulation. Today, if Niger expels the US, it can sell its uranium to Russia or China, buy Russian air defense, and use Chinese-built fiber optics to bypass Western financial messaging systems (SWIFT alternatives like CIPS). Thus, **the "degree of involvement"** is calibrated precisely to **break the "political" dependence without creating a new "economic" colonial relation**.

The US, depleted militarily and industrially, will indeed retrench toward Latin America and Africa—but in Africa, it will **collide with the Russian military** shield and the **Chinese economic floor**. In Latin America, it will face the rising tide of its own decaying ideological hegemony, with no easy way to reimpose the old order without directly triggering a major conflict that it cannot afford to win.

Lenin and Stalin understood what the West's "regime change" operatives still refuse to grasp: **"tanks, money, and drones are meaningless without the subjective factor.**" You can arm a proxy **army to the teeth, but if the masses do not rise,** if the workers and peasants do not see the **struggle as "their own",** then the whole edifice collapses t**he moment external logistics are cut.** Myanmar is the perfect current case; the US poured support into the NUG/PDF, but the ethnic nationalities, the actual grassroots armed forces, never fully bought into that Washington-directed project, and now they are negotiating with

the government. The people—in their diverse, complex, tribal and class realities—voted with their feet.

Conversely, **when the people "are" ready**, as in the Sahel, where popular anger at French neo-colonialism had been boiling for decades, a relatively modest amount of Russian military advisory support and diplomatic coverage was enough to tip the scales. **The material assistance was the "midwife", but the "labor" was performed by the masses.**

What has not changed **and will not change in its form or in its essence is that "Outside assistance** can accelerate or hinder, **but it cannot substitute for the internal contradiction.**" The national liberation war is ultimately won or lost in **the minds and peoples of the nation itself.**

What has changed will create the objective conditions externally for the national liberation movements.

2.11-Lenin's theory in the Digital Age and multipolar world order

Does the change in the form of wars refute Leninist theory of Inevitability of wars or the Theory still Remain Valid?

Finance capital's drive for profit gutted US production, uneven development handed China the rare-earth monopoly, and inter-imperialist rivalry is now fought via **resource choke-points**. The "form" has changed; the "imperialist essence" remained starkly visible.

Lenin's theory remains structurally valid, but must be updated to account for "technological deterrence" as a modifier, **not a refutation,** of capitalist competition. **War is inevitable due to**

uneven development, the export of finance capital, and the violent redivision of the world market. The essence of monopoly capitalism– the inherent tendency toward competition over vital interests – remains. **Wars are still fought to secure markets, resources, strategic positions, and geopolitical dominance.** As for the Leninist perspective on imperialism (monopoly capitalism) the core idea is that under monopoly **capitalism/imperialism**, certain phenomena are inherent due to its structure – specifically, **competition over vital resources and markets.**

Marxism distinguishes between essence (**the inherent drive toward conflict)** and forms (**how it manifests)**. The core idea is that capitalism inherently possesses a dynamic, competitive nature driven by the pursuit of profit, especially imperialist accumulation, which generates tensions leading to conflict. This "**essence**"- competition over vital interests and inherent antagonism- **remains. Lenin's core premise** was that imperialism would lead to war **because** it concentrated capital and **made global rivalry inevitable, including the use of proxy states** to wage war without direct confrontation between the powers themselves.

The **core of the question** is whether modern proxy wars are a transformed version of those classical imperialist conflicts**. Lenin argued that imperialism, as the highest stage of capitalism, leads to an arms race** and **the inevitability of war because** profit-driven powers compete for markets, resources (raw materials), and cheap labor, driving intense geopolitical rivalry. Stalin echoed this in Soviet contexts. T**hey both had already mentioned the likelihood of proxy wars,** but today's context includes smaller nations (non-nation states) within contested

regions (ethnic, religious minorities) and non-state entities (terrorist groups, separatists) that are i**deologically aligned or geographically relevant to the superpowers.** Proxy wars allow major powers to engage in military-like interventions **without necessarily triggering direct confrontation between themselves.**

So the shift is from direct wars between imperialists to using proxies. **The key point here is differentiating forms from essence.** The essence is **the underlying cause**—capitalist competition leading to conflict. Forms refer to **how conflict manifests**. So, **if the drivers of war under capitalism haven't changed** but methods have evolved with technology, then yes, **the form has changed while the essence remains. Nuclear deterrence prevents direct wars between superpowers**. The "nuclear peace" idea—no all-out wars between nuclear powers due to mutual assured destruction. Instead, **conflicts are fought through proxies**. So proxy wars become a new form of competition that still leads to conflict, but **through different means.** Proxies let powers **fight without direct risk,** using fearmongering and spreading the **illusion of no major war.**

2.12-Conclusion

It is wrong to assume that "Lenin's theory of inevitable inter-imperialist war did not just predict competition; it predicted **direct, armed, military clashes** between the metropolitan states themselves over the redivision of colonies". Lenin talks about "war" in general, not **direct inter-imperialist war.** Most importantly Lenin does not take the **concept of "war" in its literal sense** but as "**use of force**" . He and Stalin clearly states, even then that **an imperialist country can find a "bordering small country" as a proxy** to wage war against its enemy. (15) (16) We have to take

the words of Lenin not in literal sense but **in context with all his writings**. Lenin explicitly acknowledged "small neighboring countries"-proxies and explicitly argued for studying each war separately based on any given concrete conditions.

The technological evolution of warfare, particularly the proliferation of nuclear weapons, has fundamentally altered the forms of inter-imperialist competition. Mutual assured destruction (MAD) has rendered direct large-scale conflict between nuclear powers as catastrophic and therefore taboo. However, this does not signal a 'post-war' era, but rather a transformed one—where conflict continues in fragmented form across new domains. Technology has altered the grammar of war by making it faster, more asymmetric, and more proxy-driven. The Leninist framework survives precisely because it is flexible enough to recognize that **when direct conquest becomes unprofitable, capital simply invents new battlefield**s: cyber, economic, and informational.

The forms now include cyber warfare, economic and political sanctions instead of boots on the ground. Proxies allow superpowers to fight without direct risk, using fear-mongering and **spreading an illusion of no major wars.** It is the "nuclear peace" concept—**no all-out wars** between nuclear powers due to mutual assured destruction, but wars through proxies. Technology enables more precise, less escalatory proxy warfare. Proxy wars should not be considered “limited” wars. That is the propaganda intended to pacify the people through the widely accepted thought that nuclear war is always possible.

Another factor is that economic interdependence might mitigate direct conflicts, but not in areas with geopolitical tensions

like Ukraine-Russia or Middle East disputes. Here, **technology enables more precise, less escalatory warfare through proxies.** The fear-mongering angle ties back to Marxist ideas about how capitalism uses tools to **distract the masses from systemic issues.**

Lenin did not deny the possibility of the "peaceful" division of some regions by imperialist countries to forge an alliance. " We ask, " he says, "**is it 'conceivable,**' assuming that the capitalist system remains intact—and this is precisely the assumption that Kautsky does make—that **such alliances would be more than temporary**, that they would eliminate friction, conflicts and struggle in every possible form?" " This is because the only conceivable basis under capitalism for the division of spheres of influence, interests, colonies, etc., is a **calculation of the strength of those participating,** their general economic, financial, military strength, etc. And the strength of these participants in the division **does not change to an equal degree,** for the even development of different undertakings, trusts, branches of industry, or countries **is impossible under capitalism** … **Is it "conceivable"** that in ten or twenty years' time the relative strength of the imperialist powers will have remained unchanged? **It is out of the question.** " (13)

Competition among imperialist powers leads to inevitable conflict, **just in new forms. Proxy wars serve as tools for maintaining capitalist dominance without direct confrontation.**

Economic interdependence and **the financial cost of high-tech warfare make** wars too expensive. Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) **invalidates the "inevitability" of direct inter-imperialist conflict. However, the form of inter-imperialist wars**

changes, but the essence of it persists. Imperialist competition **hasn't ended; it has merely "shifted domains"**, from territorial colonies to **control over energy, rare-earth refinement, and global data routing**.

Proxy wars are still inter-imperialist wars; they are merely subcontracted, proving the **great powers are still fiercely competing for global hegemony. The inevitability of war hasn't disappeared;** it has been "compressed and displaced," occurring in cyberspace, economic sanctions, and covert sabotage, rather than prolonged trench warfare. **The essence of Lenin and Stalin's theory, "war is inevitable under capitalism" still remains valid.** The essence of Leninist analysis—the inexorable competition for resources, markets, and global dominance driven by capitalist imperatives—has not changed. What has changed is only the battlefield: from trenches to trade routes, from artillery to algorithms, from colonies to cyberspace. The **war continues, but in new forms**, and under new names.

Notes;

* Erdogan A, Who Actually Makes the Decisions for Foreign Policy in the US? Conflict Within the Bureaucracy"

"The reader who wishes to understand US foreign policy must abandon the comfortable frameworks of liberal democracy (where "checks and balances" matter) and left-liberal conspiracy theories (where "neocons" act autonomously). Only a "class perspective" – materialist, dialectical, and unforgiving – can answer the question: "**Who actually makes the decisions?"** The answer is finance capital, organized through the state bureaucracy. Conflicts within the bureaucracy are real but non-antagonistic. And

the claim that "Israel controls the US" is not an explanation – it is a symptom of the very crisis of legitimacy that US imperialism is trying to manage.

If we look at the question in the unipolar vs. multipolar context, in the unipolar era (post-1991), the alignment of US and Israeli interests was nearly perfect. The US needed a reliable enforcer in the Middle East; Israel needed a global superpower patron. There was no high cost to the US for supporting Israel's most aggressive policies…When the liabilities outweigh the benefits, finance capital will act. Israel will be informed that US policy has changed. The lobby will be managed, not obeyed.

Iran will most likely be the ultimate confirming test for the correctness of the Marxist Leninist analysis based on existing conditions and facts."

** Erdogan A, On the likelihood of a Nuclear war

"With the technological - satellites, Artificial intelligence, precision-guided subsonic, supersonic, hypersonic missiles, UAVs (Unmanned Aerial Vehicles), USVs (Unmanned Surface Vehicles), lately introduced Robot Tanks, lasers, signal jamming, and so many others to count-development, the need for the use of nuclear weapons is diminishing. These new technological war machines are also extremely destructive but can be localized, and their extent is controllable.

For these reasons, I do not see any likelihood of nuclear world war. Nuclear warheads will probably remain for a long time as a weapon of deterrence; new missiles will be produced for their possible use. It is similar to the fact that wars will be inevitable as long as capitalism exists. New technological weapons will

continue to be destructive in the service of, and for the benefit of, the military-industrial complex and Finance Capital. However, most likely the wars will be proxy wars with the use of new weapons at the expense of the people and the destruction of the proxy countries in where the new "technological weapons" will be tested on the field and improved accordingly."

(1) Lenin, Left-wing Communism

(2) Lenin, Under a False Flag

(3) Erdogan A, War in Ukraine; Now what? The prospects of the second phase and on.

(4) Erdogan A, On the likelihood of a Nuclear war

(5) Erdogan A, Is the World War knocking on the door? Subjectively: Yes, objectively: No.

(6) Lenin, The Principles of Socialism and the War of 1914–1915

(7) Erdogan A, An unavoidable structural change in the Middle East

(8) Erdogan A, Early possible implications of the war of aggression against Iran.

(9) Erdogan A, On the North Korea and Russia " alliance"; reasons, significance, and implications

(10) Lenin, The Junius Pamphlet

(11) Lenin, A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism.

(12) Stalin, The Foundations of Leninism

(13) Lenin, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism

(14) Erdogan A, Myanmar; the fallacy of "Freedom fighters" versus Junta.

(15) Lenin, Theses for an Appeal to the International Socialist Committee and All Socialist Parties

"In the political sphere, the imperialist war has demonstrated that from the imperialists' standpoint it is sometimes much more advantageous to have as war ally a politically independent but financially dependent small nation. It is quite possible, therefore, that parallel with its policy of strangling small nations, imperialism will in individual cases follow a policy of "voluntary" alliance."

(16) Stalin, Interview with Roy Howard (1936)

"History shows that when any state intends to make war against another state, even not adjacent, it begins to seek for frontiers across which it can reach the frontiers of the state it wants to attack, Usually, the aggressive state finds such frontiers."

(17) Erdogan A, Rare earth minerals, and Trump's tariffs on China; Facts and fictions, subjective narratives versus objective realities.

Chapter 3- Scientific Concept of Imperialism

Preface

The term 'imperialism' has become a catch-all label, applied subjectively to almost any country perceived as powerful or expansionist. This is not a new error. Lenin warned in his time that 'the scientific concept of imperialism has been reduced to a term of abuse applied to those with whom imperialists are in direct competition.'

Today, this misuse is compounded by a mechanical approach that defines imperialism solely by its economic features—monopoly capital, capital export, and global reach—while ignoring its political essence: militarization, war preparation, and the use of force as a continuation of economic policy.

This chapter argues that the **scientific definition of imperialism must be understood as a dialectical unity of its economic and political aspects.** Without this unity, analysis becomes arbitrary, labels become meaningless, and Marxist-Leninists cannot distinguish genuine imperialism from other forms of state power.

Drawing on Lenin, Stalin, and Bukharin, and examining the historical evolution of imperialist wars, I establish the framework that will be applied in subsequent chapters to contemporary questions—including the much-debated question of 'Chinese imperialism.'

I'm sure that some people will turn up their noses at this article, assuming they already know what "imperialism" means. This article, prepared after three years of research, study, and comprehension, is not for those who "believe they already know

everything," but for those like me who consider themselves Marxist-Leninist students and **strive to learn the topics in depth**.

Today, the subject of imperialism has become **a term completely disconnected from the dialectics of Marxism**, perceived and applied based on rote-based theories, solely based on its "economic" essence. Therefore, almost every country is labeled "imperialist" **based on subjectivity.** This is not a new approach. “Worse still”, Lenin argued in his time, "the scientific concept of imperialism has been reduced to a term of abuse applied to those with whom imperialists are in direct competition, their rivals, and their opponents." This is what is generally done today.

The same Kautskyite practice of dismantling imperialism's dialectical unity and attributing it solely to its economic or political essence is the dominant practice of today. Among the hundreds of articles I've read in various languages on Russia, especially on Chinese imperialism, I haven't seen a single convincing Marxist-Leninist piece that addresses the subject dialectically and relies on objective and concrete data.

These articles either rely on memorized economic principles, **ignoring the political aspect**, or, worse yet (including a few articles I've read from Türkiye), deviating from the bourgeois practice of supporting their claims with **bogus, unsubstantiated, or even impossible-to-prove bourgeois data**. A Marxist-Leninist's reliance on false data to prove something essentially eliminates their credibility. Marxism-Leninism is real, based on concrete facts. But research laziness and a lack of knowledge of the scientific definition of imperialism prevent even a valid argument from being presented convincingly.

In this lengthy article, which I reduced from 400 pages to 40+, I attempted to summarize, using Lenin's words, the "**scientific concept of imperialism,**" using quotes from Lenin and Stalin. In other words, I addressed not only the "economic essence of imperialism" but also its "political essence," taking into account the "**indispensable" reality of war for imperialism.** I included wars from the eras of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, and their perspectives. Because imperialism and war are inseparable twins, I addressed the development of a country's "war industry," the necessity of directing the economy "on a war footing," and, consequently, the question of whether a country's military industry is "offensive" or "defensive."

> "**If a Communist** took it into his head to boast about his communism because of the **ready-made conclusions** he had acquired, without putting in a great deal of serious and hard work, without understanding the facts which **he must examine critically**, he would be a **very deplorable Communist.**" (27)

Lenin and Stalin on Imperialism and imperialist war

> 'The scientific concept of imperialism, moreover, is reduced to a sort of term of abuse applied to the immediate competitors, rivals, and opponents of imperialists.”*

3.1-Introduction

What really did Lenin mean by **“scientific concept of imperialism?**

The concept of imperialism, by relying on one aspect of it, remains to be an abstract notion; it is not the precise meaning of

the scientific concept-**scientific definition of imperialism**. **Only** through the application of the dialectic of Marxism to the concept **can one grasp the scientific definition of imperialism**.

Today, imperialism is defined almost entirely by its **economic aspect**, while its political-military dimension is often ignored. Lenin, in his foreword to Imperialism, stated that "the pamphlet was written with an eye to the tsarist censorship. Hence," he said, "I was not only forced to **confine myself strictly to an exclusively theoretical, specifically economic analysis of facts**, but to formulate the **few necessary** observations **on politics** with extreme caution… I trust that this pamphlet will help the reader to understand the fundamental **economic question**, that of the **economic essence of imperialism.**" (1)

Most everyone learns Leninism through memorizing the theories disconnected from the entire content- through which the variations, conditions, situations, and background context of the definition of imperialism are understood. Defining imperialism solely based on its economic context is a betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and its dialectics. This clearly indicates a lack of understanding of the Leninist theory of the **scientific concept of imperialism**.

Lenin was pointing this out, saying: "**imperialism can and must be defined differently** if we bear in mind **not** only the basic, **purely economic** concepts—to which **the above definition is limited...**" (1)

Learned by rote approaches to **Lenin's definition of imperialism** reveal themselves with the repetition of his 5th condition:

"the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed." That **refers to the end of an era** and to the imperialists (in its scientific definition) in the initial phase of that newly emerged era. Because of the law of unequal economic development, new imperialist countries will inevitably emerge, first fitting the economic definition and possibly later **the combined-scientific definition**. In other words, the 5th condition **does not tell anything** about the new emerging imperialists of the "new era" other than the **"pre-existing" ones**. Similarly, the fourth condition;" the formation of international monopolist capitalist associations which share the world among themselves," **refers t**o the development in regard to **the existing imperialist(s)**. **Only the first three are applicable** to define new imperialist countries in their **economic aspect.**

"The law of uneven development in the period of imperialism" says Stalin, " means the spasmodic development of some countries in relation to others, the rapid ousting of some countries from the world market by others, the **periodic redistribution of the <u>already divided</u> world** in the order of military clashes and military catastrophes... the fact that the **world has already been divided among imperialist groups,** there are no more "free", unoccupied territories in the world, and in order to occupy new markets and sources of raw materials, in order to expand, **one must take from others** this territory **by force**… the unprecedented development of technology.. made it easier for some countries to leap ahead of others, for the more powerful countries to be ousted by less powerful but rapidly developing countries. The **old distribution** of spheres of influence between individual imperialist groups each time comes into conflict with

the **new alignment of forces** on the world market… The world imperialist war was the first attempt to redistribute an already divided world. Needless to say, the **first attempt at redistribution must be followed by a second attempt**, for which preparatory work is already underway in the imperialist camp." (2)

Defining imperialism as a **"specific historic category,"** Lenin points out mistakes of approach that, coincidentally, are **mistakes of our day too**. He states that Imperialism; "upholds the **structure of finance capital**; it subjugates the world to the **domination of finance capital;** in place of the old capitalist production relations, it puts the **production relations of finance capital**. Just as finance capitalism (which **must not be confused with money capital,** for finance capital is characterized by being simultaneously **banking and industrial capital)** is an **historically limited epoch**, **confined** only to the last few decades, so imperialism, as the policy of finance capital, is a specific historic category."... "**war is** a continuation of politics by other **means**… **Politics itself,** however, is **an active** "**continuation.**" (3)

A scientific definition of imperialism and its application to a country must be objectively analytical and **include economic and political aspects.** Since war is a continuation of politics in different forms, **the analysis should consider a country's war history, war preparation, and the militarization of industry**. Because **waging war** depends on overall industrial and military strength, the **country's military industry** should be studied, especially **to determine whether it is mainly defense-**focused or **offense-focused**. A defense-focused military industry centers on territorial **protection and deterrence**, while

an offense-focused military industry focuses on **projecting power**. While newly industrialized nations gradually adopt a **balanced strategy,** developing both defensive and offensive technologies to ensure comprehensive national security, their main military industry remains to be offensive **only at short distances**, **confined** within surrounding territory.

In contrast, offense-focused imperialist countries focus on the ability to launch attacks quickly and over **extended distances**. The ratio of the **"balance" between offense and defense** may clearly indicate whether a nation pri**oritizes protecting** its own territory and deterrence or **projecting power to** other nations. For **defense-focused nations**, defense is often rooted in protectionist needs, while limited offensive capabilities are seen as deterrents **against potential aggression**. For **offense-focused** nations, territorial defense capability is often minimized while **offensive capability is maximized to project power.** This analysis can provide a clearer understanding and conclusion **about whether a given country is imperialist, by** its scientific definition, at any given time. That does not mean, however, that because of uneven economic development, that country **will remain so indefinitely**. Marxist Leninists do not evaluate based on forecasts of what will happen, but on concrete data at any given time on any subject. "Marxists must proceed **not from what is possible**, but **from what is real**". (33)

If we summarize;

Imperialist foreign economic policy reveals itself first and foremost, with the application of all possible types of prohibitions and limitations on imports and exports, including **the entire system of tariff policy, one-sided trade agreements,**

support for "national industries" abroad, premiums of all sorts, the search for concessions and profitable lending opportunities, etc., which is **the essence of an imperialist economic policy.**

Imperialist foreign political policy reveals itself through direct plunder, or seizing the territory of someone else's "fatherland" directly or indirectly **by use of force** in different shapes and forms for monopolistic exploitation by finance capital, which is **the essence of an imperialist political policy.**

So the **definition and application of "imperialist"** should be determined by assessing a country's **foreign economic and political policy together**. The political policy of an imperialist country **implies the use of force** in various forms, more often through wars, **whether proxy or direct**.

Lenin himself said that his definition of "imperialism" is **limited to its economic aspect**. In reference to Imperialism, and the importance of this question, Lenin pointed out that;

"The problem of **imperialism** is not only a **most essential** one, but, we may say it is the most essential problem in that realm of economic science which **examines the changing forms of capitalism** in recent times. Everyone interested not only in economics but in any sphere of **present-day** social life must acquaint himself with the **facts relating** to this problem, as presented by the author in such detail on the basis of the latest available data. Needless to say, **there can be no concrete historical analysis** of war if that analysis does not have for its basis a **full understanding of the nature of imperialism**, **both from its economic and political aspects.** Without this, **it is impossible** to approach an

understanding of the economic and diplomatic situation of the last decades, and without such an understanding, **it is ridiculous even to speak of forming a correct view on war.** (2)

Not every war is imperialist, and not every use of force takes the form of war. In his critique of Kautsky, Lenin summarized the policy in one word: **use of force.**

> "Imperialism is a striving for annexations… It is correct, but very incomplete, for **politically**, **imperialism is, in general, a striving towards violence and reaction**... The essence of the matter is that Kautsky **detaches the politics of imperialism from its economics…Finance capital and the trusts do not diminish but increase the differences in the rate of growth of the various parts of the world economy.** Once the relation of forces is changed, what other solution of the contradictions can be found **under capitalism than that of force?"** (1)

Here too, Lenin stresses the **direct connection between economics and politics, between exploitation** and **violence and reaction in its foreign policy** for the **definition of imperialism.** Bukharin, in his book whose introduction Lenin wrote, addresses the definition of imperialism. He states;

> "The second very widespread "theory" of imperialism defines it as the **policy of conquest in general**… Simple as this theory may be, it is absolutely untrue**. It is untrue** because it "explains" everything, i.e., **it explains absolutely nothing. "**
>
> "Every policy of the ruling classes ("pure" policy, military policy, economic policy) **has a perfectly definite**

> **functional significance… War serves** to reproduce definite relations of production. **War of conquest** serves to reproduce those relations on a wider scale. Simply to **define war,** however, **as conquest is entirely insufficient,** for the simple reason that in doing so we **fail to indicate the main thing, namely,** what production relations are **strengthened** or **extended by the war,** what basis is widened **by a given "policy of conquest…** Bourgeois science does not see and does not wish to see this. It **does not understand** that a basis for the classification of **various "policies" must exist** in the social economy **out of which the "policies" arise.** " (3)

An abstract repetition of "war is a continuation of politics by other means", as if it explains everything, **is a common ready-made solution** used for all questions of war; however, it does so **without actually studying** the given "politics" itself under those concrete conditions. **Without studying a country's** foreign economic and political policy in a given period, **classifying a country as "imperialist"** goes against the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and, in most cases, is incorrect because it considers only the economic definition of imperialism. It does not consider and explain absolutely nothing about the **political aspects** of the definition, without which the definition and application of it - labeling **cannot be correct.**

Economic Imperialism	**Political Imperialism**
Monopoly capital; finance capital dominance	Militarization of economy; war preparation

Economic Imperialism	Political Imperialism
Capital export; control of markets	Use of force; projection of power

"A country may fit the economic definition—monopoly capital, capital export—without being imperialist in the scientific, combined sense. The political aspect—systematic militarization for power projection and subjugation—is essential for the full definition.

3.2-Economic definition of imperialism

The economic essence of imperialism **lies in replacing free competition** with monopoly domination. The main features and requirements of the basic economic law of monopoly capitalism are as follows:

> "ensuring the maximum capitalist profit through the exploitation, ruin and impoverishment of the majority of the population of a given country, through the enslavement and systematic robbery of the peoples of other countries, especially backward countries, and finally, through wars and the **militarization of the national** economy used to ensure the highest profits." *(19)*

Imperialism, or monopoly capitalism, is the highest and last stage in the development of the **capitalist mode of production**. The transition from pre-monopoly capitalism to monopoly capitalism took place during the last third of the 19th century, finally taking shape by the beginning of the 20th century.

> "Thus, the basic economic law of capitalism - the law of surplus value - in the period of imperialism further developed and concretized." Under pre-monopoly capitalism, the dominance of free competition led to an equalization of the rate of profit among **individual capitalists**; under imperialism, monopolies ensure for themselves a **monopolistically high**, maximum profit. It is the **maximum profit** that is the engine of monopoly capitalism." *(31)*

It is important to note here that "Monopolies" generally refer to **single entities** controlling the entire market for a **given particular goods** or services. "Trusts", "cartels" etc., refer to combinations of companies controlling a **substantial portion of the market** for goods and services. Financial oligarchy rules trusts; the financial oligarchy rules the country.

> "The objective conditions for obtaining maximum profits are **created by the establishment of the dominance of monopolies in certain branches of production**. At the **stage of imperialism**, the concentration and centralization of capital reached its highest degree. As a result, expanding production **required huge capital investments**. The fierce competitive struggle**s between gigantic enterprises** brought about the dominance of finance capital in the monopolization of industries. The pursuit of maximum profit by the monopolies **led to an extreme aggravation of all the contradictions** of capitalism. " *(31)*

Lenin, in his article "Can We Go Forward If We Fear To Advance Towards Socialism?", stated; "Everybody talks about imperialism. But **imperialism is merely monopoly capitalism**…" *(4)* In

his book Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, Lenin details his definition of imperialism that includes the basic features:

(1) the concentration of production and capital developed to such a high stage that **it has created monopolies** which play a decisive role in economic life;

(2) the **merging of bank capital** with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this "finance capital," of a **financial oligarchy**;

(3) the **export of capital** as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance." *(3)*

I removed the 4th and 5th definitions in this section, as they related to the "imperialists" of that era and cannot be applied to the new era to define new "imperialists." Because of the law of uneven economic development, **new "imperialist"** countries *(in its economic definition)* emerge a**gainst the old**-victorious ones. As Stalin noted, "The **redistribution of the world** and spheres of influence, carried out as a result of the last imperialist war, has already managed **to become** "**obsolete**". Some new countries have come forward.. A furious struggle is going on for sales markets, for markets for the export of capital, for sea and land roads to these markets, for a new redivision of the world… the growth of all these contradictions means the growth of the crisis of world capitalism, despite the fact of stabilization, **a crisis incomparably deeper** than the crisis before the last imperialist war… It is not surprising that imperialism is preparing for a new war, seeing in it the only way to resolve this crisis." *(16)*

As far as condition 3 is concerned, one has to pay attention and make the distinction between **exporting goods, services,** and **exporting capital**- money flowing out of the country for investments, loans, or other capital flows. Based on this condition, one can easily end up labeling Japan, Norway, and so many newly developed countries with their monopoly capitalist industries as "imperialist". They are "economically" imperialists who plunder **under the military and political shadow of "Imperialists"** in its scientific term. So, they are not really imperialist in their combined definition. Similarly, one should conclude that the **US is not an imperialist country** because, while historically the U.S. was a dominant **capital exporter**, it is now a significant **capital importer**. In this sense, **even the 3rd condition** is not sufficient **to determine** whether a country is imperialist.

Although not contradicting Lenin**,** arguments were made that **"what differs from Lenin's era** is that the development of **information and communications technologies,** foreign direct investment and international trade and industrial transfers have reached new heights, to the degree of **internationalization of production and circulation** overshadowing the past. **Capital** is being redistributed **globally** from production to circulation. This concentration of capital led to **multinational finance-capital corporations**. These corporations linked with the rest of finance capital and formed financial monopoly organizations. They **controlled and ran international production, trade, banking, transactions, and exchange values.** They **shaped the world economic and political system** to align with their needs, eliminating barriers whether they were a country or an institution-

organization.

Lenin had already foreseen this development and had stated that: "we see the rapid expansion of a close network of channels which cover the whole country, **centralizing all capital** and all revenues, transforming thousands and thousands of scattered economic enterprises into a single national, capitalist, **and then into a world capitalist economy.**" *(1)*

Contrary to the bourgeois liberal and neo-communist arguments, **the essence of imperialism is unchanged**. The substance still remains to be the monopoly capital's domination. The change is only in forms and methods that have evolved. It is not a "new stage" of imperialism in its essence but a higher stage with the same essence. **It does not break Lenin's framework but deepens it.** In this higher stage, it accelerates capital export (Lenin's Feature 3) through the Internationalization of Production, finance capital (Feature 2), and **unshackles itself from national borders**. Modern iterations of "international monopolist combines" are digital cartels (Feature 4); first among the **existing** *(previous)* imperialists, and due to the uneven economic development law, the **newly emerged ones gradually form their own**. In this higher stage, political supremacy is carried out through digital and financial tools by controlling international institutions like SWIFT.

This process of reaching a higher stage has been realized by merging finance capital with industry, which **necessitated the formation of State capitalism, the militarization of industry, and the development of the economy on a war footing.** That

development helped to create, and followed by the internationalization **of Finance and Financial Institutions.**

State Capitalism

The transition from monopoly capitalism to imperialism is mediated by the state's transformation. As finance capital matures, the state ceases to be merely the 'executive committee of the bourgeoisie' and becomes a direct economic actor—a 'state-capitalist trust' that organizes production, absorbs industrial monopolies, and militarizes the economy.

This process is not separate from imperialism; it is its political expression. The imperialist state is characterized by:

Absorption of bourgeois organizations into a unified state mechanism.

Militarization of the economy on a war footing.

Financialization—detaching capital from production.

Understanding this transformation is essential for distinguishing between countries that have finance capital (economic definition) and those that have become imperialist states (scientific definition).

From the Marxist point of view, the state is nothing but the most general organization of the ruling classes. The epoch of finance capitalism creates specific relations both within and between states.

"In the beginning the state is the sole organization of the ruling class. Then other organizations begin to spring up, their numbers multiplying especially in the **epoch of finance capitalism.** The state is transformed from the sole organization of the

ruling class into **one of its organizations,** distinguished by its most general character. **Finally,** the third stage arrives, in which the **state swallows up** these organizations and once more becomes the **sole universal organization** of the ruling class, with an internal, technical division of labor. The once-independent organizational groupings **become the divisions of a gigantic state mechanism."** *(28)*

"As the **power of individual capitalist organizations** grows stronger, as their influence expands, competition in the **world market becomes more and more fierce and destructive**. Each competing party starts **relying on the resources of entire countries** and, moreover, acts hand in hand **with powerful state organizations.** On the world market, as well as on national markets, the struggle between powerful capitalist trusts is waged along **three main lines:** 1) the struggle for markets,2) the struggle for raw material markets, 3) the struggle for capital investment markets.

These competitions are closely connected and represent **the three sides of a single capitalist competition**. Competition transferring to the world market leads to the transformation of "peaceful" **competition** into a competition **where force is used**, leading to the **birth of imperialism** as an inevitable **policy of modern states."** *(32)*

The organizational process, which embraces more and more branches of the "national economy" through the creation of combined enterprises and through the **organizational role of the banks,** has led to the **conversion of each developed "national system" of capitalism into a "state-capitalist trust."**[30]

"On the other hand, the process of development of the productive forces of the **world economy drives these "national" systems into the most acute conflicts in their competitive struggle for the world market**. These two basic facts of contemporary capitalist reality provide us with the key to understanding the **"state" tendencies of contemporary finance capitalism**. Why was the bourgeoisie really so individualistic in the past? Principally **because the basic category of economic life was the private-economic unit,** which confronts all the others as a competitor. The interrelation of people, or the internal structure of the bourgeoisie as a class, was **analogous to** this interrelation among enterprises. As a class, the bourgeoisie came out against the proletariat. But within the class itself, each member stood opposed to the other as a competitor. **Each hoped to unseat his opponent by relying upon his own forces,** the interplay between them being positive for the "whole." But individualism emerged not only in separate enterprises and individual people. **The division of the ruling classes into different groups also played an analogous role**: above all the division into a **landed and an industrial bourgeoisie**, followed by lesser divisions between the representatives of **raw material production and manufacturers**, commercial and usurer capital, etc. **The epoch of finance capital ends this state of affairs; the contradiction between different subgroups of the ruling classes largely disappears.** By collaborating with one another, almost every category of the bourgeoisie is transformed into **recipients of dividends**, with interest becoming the general form of expression for all so-called "nonlabor incomes." The holy of holies for every bourgeois (and landlord) **becomes the bank to which he and his kind are tied by a thousand threads.**

Thus, **a system of collective capitalism is created**, which, to a certain extent, **opposes the entire structure of capitalism in its earlier forms**. **The financial oligarchy rules the trusts; financial oligarchy rules the country.** A **multitude of bourgeois organizations emerges**, and they overlap one another in the most diverse realms. The **separate representatives of the ruling classes take their seats in different cells,** which grow within definite limits, work out the collective will, and pose and resolve common tasks. Finally, **the requirements of imperialist development compel bourgeois society to mobilize all of its forces,** to extend its organization throughout the broadest possible context: the **state absorbs into itself the whole multitude of bourgeois organizations**. *(28)*

In total **contrast to the state in the epoch of industrial** capitalism, **the imperialist state is characterized by** an extraordinary increase in the complexity of its functions and by an impetuous incursion into the economic life of society. It reveals **a tendency to take over the whole productive sphere and the whole sphere of commodity circulation**. Intermediate types of mixed enterprises will be replaced by pure **state regulation**s, because in this way the centralization process can advance further. **All the members of the ruling classes** (or more accurately, of the ruling class, for finance capitalism gradually eliminates the different subgroups of the ruling classes, uniting them in a **single finance-capitalist clique**) become shareholders, or **partners in a gigantic state-enterprise -** Imperialist State. From being the preserver and defender of exploitation, the state becomes a single, centralized, exploiting organization confronted directly by the proletariat, the object of exploitation. **A hierarchically constructed**

bureaucracy fulfills the organizing functions in complete accord with the military authorities, whose significance and power steadily grow. The national economy is absorbed into the state, which **is constructed in a military fashion** and has at its disposal an enormous, disciplined army and navy. (28)

Thus, **state capitalism is the completed form of state-capitalist trust**. The process of organization gradually removes the anarchy of separate components of the "national-economic" mechanism, placing all economic life **under the iron heel of the militaristic state.**

Summarizing Lenin's description of Imperialism's Parasitic Evolution to its highest stage; it has gone through; 1) the emergence of industrial monopolies, monopolization stage, 2) merging of Banks with industry, Finance Capital Fusion, 3) moving factories abroad, **deindustrialization of home economies,** Capital Export, 4) funding arms production to absorb surplus and project power, **Militarized Reproduction,** 5) **detachment of capital from production**, living off speculation, debt, and rent, Financial Parasitism. Formation of a "rentier state," as seen in the current U.S. and UK.

Let's summarize it;

Deindustrialization and emergence of Military- Tech- Service industry as primary industries

The triad of **deindustrialization**, **militarization** of industry, and **internationalization** of finance capital represents the logical evolution of monopoly capitalism in its **imperialist stage,** as analyzed by Lenin and later Marxists.

Deindustrialization isn't accidental; it stems from finance capital's pursuit of higher returns abroad. **Monopolies shift industrial capital to the Global South** for cheaper labor, weaker regulations, and higher returns; capital export for higher profits is evident in U.S. manufacturing moving to other low-labor-cost countries that also offer appealing concessions.

Financialization of the economy reflects itself in Finance capital's prioritizing in quick and high-return speculative activities (stocks, derivatives, real estate) over long-term low-return productive investments. In general, profits from manufacturing are 3–5%, profits from finance is 15–20%

Militarization of the economy compensates for industrial decline by creating guaranteed markets for monopolies. Internationalized finance completes this trifecta by **detaching capital from national productive bases.**

Lenin foresaw this trajectory. He said that "imperialism is parasitic, decaying capitalism moving toward universal crisis." The deindustrialization-militarization-financialization triad represents capitalism's retreat from productive progress. It relies more on **force** and **fraud** to sustain profits.

Conclusion for the section

It is the **hegemony of US-based finance capital** over these centralized international finance capital, financial monopoly **organizations,** and **its currency** that makes the US an imperialist country **in its economic definition**; not because it exports capital. Under these conditions of international finance capital monopoly, its hegemony and control, **any "export of capital"** by

any other country, regardless of its amount, **does not make any country "imperialist"** *(in its scientific meaning)*, even in some cases in its economic sense as long as the **hegemony and control** of the US-based finance capital reigns **over the entire trade and banking transactions.** At best, we may call them sub-imperialist countries fitting **only** the **economic definition** of the term.

It is the **deindustrialization** and **military industry** of the US and its **foreign policy** directly related to its needs for the plunder of the natural resources of other countries and the need for a world **that is constantly unstable** due to conflicts and wars in order to feed itself **which makes up the "political definition" of imperialism.**

"Capitalist society," says Bukharin, "is **unthinkable without armaments**, as it is **unthinkable without wars.** And just as it is true that not low prices cause competition but, on the contrary, competition causes low prices, it is equally true that **not the existence of arms is the prime cause** and the moving force in wars (although **wars are obviously impossible without arms**) but, on the contrary, the **inevitableness of economic conflicts conditions the existence of arms**. This is why in our times, when economic conflicts have reached an unusual degree of intensity, we are witnessing a **mad orgy of armaments**. Thus **the rule of finance capital implies both imperialism** *(in its economic sense E.A)* **and militarism** *(in its political sense E.A)***.** In this sense militarism is **no less a typical** historic phenomenon **than finance capital itself**… even where there are **relatively equal** economic structures.." (3)

In conclusion, determining and labeling a country as imperialist **solely on the economic definition of imperialism, divorced**

from its political definition, is not a Marxist-Leninist approach, but an infantile one, or at best, the work of someone oblivious to the dialectics of Marxism and Marxist-Leninist theory.

The economic definition, while essential, is incomplete. As Lenin and Bukharin both stressed, imperialism is not merely a matter of economic structure; it is a policy—and policy means the use of force. We now turn to the political definition, centered on militarization and war.

Let's study the "political" definition of imperialism starting with "militarization and war".

3.3-"Political" definition of imperialism

What most analysts miss in their assessment and/or comparative studies of countries is the fact that **Militarization requires perpetual enemies** (e.g., "terrorism," "authoritarian states") **in order to** feed its industry and economy. The need for unending conflicts and wars **shapes its foreign policy**. This forms the **core of the "political definition" of imperialism** and the comparative study of "imperialist" countries that fit **the "economic definition".**

Thus, the **Political definition of an imperialist state** may be summarized as "t**he systematic militarization of the economy,** converting productive capacity into **instruments of subjugation**, while financial/tech/trade systems are **weaponized to sustain global dominance**."

What we have to keep in mind is that neither Lenin nor Bukharin made the core premise that monopoly capitalism is unthinkable

without wars as a **"constant state" of imperialism** but a **"tendency"** based on, or more like depending on, its economic development and the level of **progress in its military industry**, which has been clarified in theory and practice by Stalin during the Second World War. **Stalin's concrete analysis in 1935** was based on the situation of uneven militarization within imperialist countries.

Stalin's observation highlighted **key differentiators** among imperialist states and was considered in its assessment. *(as we will see in his assessment in the section on wars- 2nd WW)*

He had come to the conclusion that the economies of Fascist States (Germany/Italy) were wholly subordinated to military needs. They succeeded in building their economy on a f**ull war footing**. However, as an inevitable consequence, they burned foreign reserves and raw materials to develop military industry and rearm. They were **squandering all their crucial resources.** This brought about **immediate aggression driven by territorial revanchism. Aggressive posturing.**

Other Imperialist Powers (UK, USA, France), on the other hand, were reorganizing their industries in that direction but **still retaining** civilian sectors. They were preparing for war but avoiding full economic conversion. They were **preserving their reserves of crucial resources. They were r**earming to protect their colonies, sources of raw materials, and their markets. **Defensive posturing**.

To understand Stalin's approach and classification, we must study the current situation and make a concrete assessment based on it. He was pointing to the fact that;

1) the imperialist states occupy **different stages** of the war-economy spectrum based on the **severity of the crisis** they are in, which makes them desperate, while some others have relative stability.

2) Severe crisis within countries relying on their military industry **necessitates conflicts and wars,** while the others still make profits from civilian markets **require stability and peace.**

3) While those who already " have" colonies, sources of raw materials, and their markets **defend the status quo**; those who "have-not" **seek redistribution through force.**

"Using force for subjugation and plunder as an inevitable policy; a continuation of policy in different form – **what actually is the policy?** "War is the continuation of politics by other" (i.e., violent) "means" *(7)*

"The law of uneven development in the period of imperialism" says Stalin, " means the spasmodic development of some countries in relation to others, the rapid ousting of some countries from the world market by others, the **periodic redistribution of the already divided world** in the order of military clashes and military catastrophes... the fact that the **world has already been divided among imperialist groups,** there are no more "free", unoccupied territories in the world, and **in order to occupy new markets and sources of raw materials**, in order to expand, one must take from others this territory by force… the unprecedented development of technology.. made it easier for some countries to leap ahead of others, for the more powerful countries to be ousted by less powerful but rapidly developing countries. The **old distribution of spheres of influence** between

individual imperialist groups each time comes into conflict **with the new alignment of forces** on the world market… The world imperialist war was the first attempt to redistribute an already divided world. Needless to say, the **first attempt at redistribution must be followed by a second attempt**, for which preparatory work is already underway in the imperialist camp." (26)

Old imperialist countries already have their **"military industry"** and are ready for a new war militarily. New ones are in the process of building their military industry and getting ready for a new war. That's why they choose the **"appeasement policy"** against the "old" as much as possible to do so. Here comes the **question of "policy"** that is repeated abstractly without answering the question of: what is the **actual** *(domestic and foreign)* policy that is being followed by each belligerent country **before the war**? Here comes the question of **military industrialization**; is territorial **defense focused** (economically) imperialist or **offense-focused** (imperialist) for projecting power?

Imperialism and war are inseparable twins.

That is why the issue of "imperialism" and attitude to it, cannot be studied **independently from its political aspect-** that is *(militarization of industry and)* war- in each given concrete condition and situation. Lenin was saying that "**Abstract theoretical reasoning** may lead to the conclusion at which Kautsky has arrived ...by abandoning Marxism. It goes without saying that **there can be no concrete historical assessment of war**, unless it is based on a thorough **analysis of the nature of imperialism,** <u>both in **its economic and political aspects**</u>." (1) Connecting the two, Lenin points out that "The character of a war and its success **depend chiefly upon** the internal regime of the country that goes to war,

that **war is a reflection of the internal policy** conducted by the given country **before the war**. " *(29)*

Here Lenin directly connects a country's "**internal regime and policy**" to any "use of force" or war. "If they both are the **two sides of the same coin**, some will say, " then **our attitude to a "war" will not be different than our attitude to ' imperialism '."** However, Lenin clearly points out that "depending on historical conditions, the relationship of classes and similar data, **the attitude towards war must be different at different times**. " *(30)*

That, dialectically, means the **attitude to "imperialism" will be different at different times**. There will be times, conditions, and situations where there is no **"interests of proletariat in general"** but only the **"interests of proletariat" in particular.** There will be times, conditions, and situations where, because of the existence of a "general interests of proletariat", the interests of the particular will be subordinated to the interests of the general. In a **constantly changing world,** conditions and situations will change, so **the attitude to each war will have to change.**

"For decades, for almost half a century, the governments and the ruling classes of England, France, Germany, Italy, Austria, and Russia, **pursued a policy of plundering colonies, of oppressing other nations, of suppressing the working-class movement.** It is this, and **only this policy** that is being continued in the present war.

"**Modern militarism is the result of capitalism.** In both its forms, it is the "vital expression" of capitalism—as a military **force used by capitalist states in their external**

conflicts and as a weapon in the hands of the ruling classes to suppress every kind of movement**, economic and political, of the proletariat.** *(6)*

On the war tendency of imperialism

While it is accepted that militarism/war is the result of capitalism, it is the Universal Tendency of imperialism, as Stalin has shown; one has to make the dialectical connection and differentiate the "law" from the existing conditions and the **concrete expression** of that **universal law**.

Studying **Stalin's concrete analysis**, he does reiterate the universal law that "all imperialist states will militarize". But Stalin points out that **the pace and intensity** of that militarization vary based on material conditions not only within the given country but in international scale.

Stalin reiterates that war is **inherent to monopoly** capitalism. But he points out that **its timing** depends on each imperialist country's internal crises and the intensity of the rivalry at a given moment.

Stalin reiterates that the Finance Capital **fuels the war machine**. But he points out that **the method of using force and** subjugation differs based on the economy, militarization, and having reserves and resources of each "imperialist" country. It will be **different for** those who "have" and who "have-not", for those who are in crisis and those who are stable, for those who can provide cheap resources without immediate war, and those who cannot. One will choose war; the other will choose economic and political means.

Reading his speeches and writings in direct connection, we can see that **Stalin** has exposed the material truth of t**he inevitability of war economies in "imperialist" countries.** Although militarization begins with state monopoly capitalism, once **imperialist rivalry intensifies**, all capitalist states face the choice of **either militarizing** or **being subjugated**. His phasing of history wasn't mere differentiation but **scientific periodization**: ***Phase 1 (1920s)****: "Peaceful" imperialists (UK/US) dominate via finance capital;* ***Phase 2 (1930s)****: Crisis forces fascist states into total war economies.* ***Phase 3 (1940s)****: All imperialists fully militarize (WWII)*

As a conclusion to this section, Lenin, Bukharin, and Stalin were correct that **Imperialism requires militarization**. However, as Stalin clearly observed and explained, **its expression** is uneven, unequal, and can take different forms. Especially in our era of technology, **weaponizing** of trade, technology, and finance is how modern empires subjugate others. **That relatively ends** when imperialist **rivalry intensifies**; subjugation through weaponized trade and other means becomes ineffective. Depending on the balance of military power, the practice of subjugation changes its character – to war, in our technological era, to proxy wars (*we will take up that issue as an attachment later*).

So, the **political definition** of imperialism is **political imperialism,** which reflects itself as **<u>structural conversion to a war economy.</u>**

The scientific concept of imperialism is made up of the unity of **economic** and **political definition** in order to be correct and apply correctly to any country at any given moment- not in the

expected future **as a prediction** but at the given time of the assessment **as a fact.**

"**It is not wrong to differentiate between the imperialists** at a given time**,** but we must keep in mind that **it is temporary.** A temporary differentiation reflects **only the assessment of a given condition.**" This is no "exception" to Leninism, but **it is Leninism. The enemy of scientific socialism isn't nuance,** but **rigidity that lacks the application of the dialectics of Marxism** to the concrete conditions and situation at a given time.

(*I will take up some of the new phenomena subjects like "**digital production chain**"- digital cartels, fragmented exploitation and weaponization, "**data as raw material**" and its weaponization*)

Lenin stated:

"**War is inevitable** as long as society is split into classes, as long as exploitation exists."

Now we dive into the question of war and the differences, different stands on the wars in history.

3.4-Historical Types of Imperialist wars in modern times

As we have seen, Stalin's exposé of the material truth of the inevitability of war economies in "imperialist" countries, in which the militarization of the economy starts *(intensifies)* together with the state monopoly capitalism and when the imperialist rivalry intensifies, all capitalist states face the option of either **militarization or being subjugated.** Stalin phased the history of wars not by mere differentiation in forms but a **scientific periodization of wars** in general and world wars in particular.

In evaluating world wars, a common mistake is considering the given war as an isolated, accidental phenomenon. Failing to consider the balance of power at that time between classes and between capitalist countries pushes analysts to argue that the war could have been avoided **if** a more reasonable policy had been pursued. Leninist proven theory is that **wars are inevitable under capitalism**. Each war, politically and economically, may be **somewhat different**. World wars, in economic terms, were essentially different from previous wars, whether against autocracies, monarchies, feudalism, anti-colonialism, or colonialism. **World war under monopoly capitalism** was **no longer** a matter of subordinating new regions to the regime of imperialism, but of the struggle of the **representatives of imperialism among themselves** for a new redivision of the exploited colonial and semi-colonial regions through the use of force- namely **internal conflicts and wars**.

The left's attitude toward war varied across epochs, stemming mostly from **ideological differences**. That ideological difference drew the line between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks (of all types), which reflected itself in the masses' attitudes. Lenin's assessment is important to state here, as it still manifests in current assessments.

> "The growth of the upward curve of capitalism and the exploitation of the semi-colonies and **colonies made it possible for the bourgeoisie of the imperialist powers** to provide the industrial proletariat of their countries with its standard of living, which was rising slowly but steadily.

> This fact explains why a significant part of the working class in the imperialist countries has separated from the general mass of the proletariat and has become a labor aristocracy. And this **labor aristocracy served as the basis for revisionism and the approval of the colonial policy** by the social democracy. It was also the economic basis for social patriotism and for the joint action of the industrial proletariat with its bourgeoisie during the war." *(34)*

"Our attitude towards war," said Lenin, "**is fundamentally differen**t from that of the bourgeois pacifists (supporters and advocates of peace) and of the Anarchists. **We differ from the former** in that we understand the inevitable **connection between wars** and the class struggle within the country; we understand that war cannot be abolished **unless classes are abolished and Socialism is created**; and we also differ in that we fully regard civil wars, i.e., wars waged by the oppressed class against the oppressing class, slaves against slave-owners, serfs against landowners, and wage workers against the bourgeoisie, **as legitimate, progressive, and necessary**. We Marxists differ from both the pacifists and the Anarchists in that we deem it necessary historically (from the standpoint of Marx's dialectical materialism) **to study each war separately**. In history there have been **numerous wars** which, in spite of **all the horrors,** atrocities, distress and suffering that inevitably accompany all wars, **were progressive,** i.e., benefited the development of mankind **by helping to destroy the exceptionally harmful and reactionary institutions** (for example, autocracy or serfdom), the most barbarous despotisms in Europe (Turkish and Russian).

Therefore, **it is necessary to examine** the historically specific features of precisely the present war." *(45)*

This statement of Lenin debunks the learned-by-rote slogan, the ready-made scheme in order to avoid making a concrete assessment that **"no wars between the capitalists can bring about a progressive result**."

Keeping in mind Lenin's statement that "**depending on historical conditions,** the relationship of classes and similar data, **the attitude towards war must be different at different times** " let's study the previous wars.

The attitudes against the war

Marxist dialectics **call for a concrete analysis of each specific historical situation.**

Lenin's previous statement dialectically connected and related to the **fundamental principle** that our evaluation of any phenomena, including war, and the stand we take stems from the **"interests of the working class**" and always with the **"interests of their struggle** in mind.

There will be times, conditions, and situations where there will be no "**interests of proletariat in general**" but only the **"interests of proletariat" in particular**, and there will be times, conditions, and situations where, because of the existence of a **"general interests of proletariat**", the interests of particular will be **subordinated to the interests of the general**. In a constantly changing world, the conditions and situations will change, so **the attitude to each will have to be different.**

Wars during the time of Marx and Engels and their attitudes

The wars during the time of Marx and Engels had a different character than later wars. However, since the West is not "the world," as they proceed from that premise and deny the bourgeois democratic revolutions and anti-imperialist wars, in fact there are still so many feudal countries, colonies, semi-colonies in the world, in which the bourgeois democratic revolutions, anti-colonial, **anti-imperialist wars are still on the agenda**. As far as choosing or standing by a capitalist state against another one is concerned, **it is a history of a "bygone" period.** The stand is determined by the concrete analysis and the determination of the stand based on the "interests of the working class". Anti-imperialist wars serve the interests of the working class regardless of the class nature of the forces waging the anti-imperialist war.

During the era of Marx and Engels, the mid-19th century, Wars were primarily bourgeois-democratic against feudalism and dynastic empires. In Marx's time, the bourgeoisie was historically progressive in dismantling feudalism, except for reactionary colonial wars waged by colonizing countries, making anti-colonial wars objectively progressive.

Lenin, in his critique of Potresov, clarifies **the old epoch** and its class context in regard to Marx's attitude to the wars and the question of "**the success of which bourgeoisie is more desirable"**.

"Potresov has failed to notice that, **to Marx in 1859** (as well as in a number of later cases), the question of "the success of **which side** is more desirable" meant asking "the success of **which bourgeoisie** is more desirable". Potresov has failed to notice that Marx was working on the problem **at a time when there existed**

indubitably progressive bourgeois movements, which moreover **did not merely exist**, but were **in the forefront** of the historical process in the leading states of Europe." *(35)*

Lenin clarifies the difference;

> " First of all, these were considerations on the national movement (in Germany and Italy)—on the latter's development over the heads of the "representatives of medievalism"; secondly, **these were considerations on the "main evil" of the reactionary monarchies** (the Austrian, the Napoleonic, etc.) in the Concert of Europe. (35)

These considerations are perfectly clear and indisputable. Marxists have **never denied the progressiveness of bourgeois** national-liberation movements **against feudal** and **absolutist forces…** Marx and Engels were working on **the problem of the desirability of success** for **which particular bourgeoisie**; they were concerned with a **modestly liberal movement** developing into a tempestuously democratic one. **In the period of present-day** (non-bourgeois) democracy, Potresov is preaching bourgeois national-liberalism **at a time when one cannot even imagine bourgeois progressive movements,** whether modestly liberal or tempestuously democratic, **in Britain, Germany, or France.** Marx and Engels were **ahead of their epoch**, that of bourgeois-national progressive movements; **they wanted to give an impetus to such movements** so that they might develop "over the heads" of the representatives of medievalism. *(35)*

> **"Marx's method consists, first of all, in taking due account of the objective content of a historical process at a given moment,** in **definite and concrete conditions**;

this in order to realize, in the first place, the movement of **which class is** the mainspring of the progress possible in those concrete conditions. **In 1859, it was not imperialism** that comprised the objective content of the historical process in continental Europe, but **national-bourgeois movements for liberation."** .. Let us suppose that two countries are at war in the epoch of bourgeois, national-liberation movements**.** Which country should we wish success to from the standpoint of present-day democracy? **Obviously, to that country whose success will give a greater impetus to the bourgeoisie's liberation movement,** make its development speedier, **and undermine feudalism more decisively."** (35)

Marx's view and approach to the Tsarist regime **as the main focus of reaction and counterrevolution** in the world, and had to be fought harder than any other, **was not his general political line** on war and peace but related to the **given concrete situation and conditions.**

"In the first epoch," said Lenin, " the objective and historical task was to ascertain how, in its struggle against the chief **representatives of a dying feudalism**, the progressive bourgeoisie should "utilize" international conflicts so as to bring the **greatest possible advantage** to the entire democratic bourgeoisie of the world. In the first epoch, over half a century ago, **it was natural and inevitable that the bourgeoisie,** enslaved by feudalism, **should wish the defeat of its "own" feudal oppressor**, all the more so that the principal and central feudal strongholds of all-European importance were not so numerous at the time. This is how Marx "appraised" the conflicts: he ascertained **in which**

country, in a given and concrete situation, the success of the **bourgeois-liberation movement was more important** in undermining the **all-European feudal stronghold."** *(35)*

Objectively, the feudal and dynastic wars were then opposed by revolutionary democratic wars, by wars for national liberation. **This was the content of the historical tasks of that epoch o**f Marx and Engels.

3.6-First World War – Lenin's time and his attitude to the war

By World War I, capitalism had become reactionary. Inter-imperialist rivalry asked the question 'which bourgeoisie is more desirable' obsolete. Lenin's 'revolutionary defeatism' correctly called for socialist revolution rather than support for either imperialist camp. Defining the difference between the previous epoch and the new, Lenin stated that " Capitalism has developed concentration to such a degree that **whole branches of industry have been seized by syndicates**, trusts, and associations of capitalist billionaires, and **almost the entire globe** has been divided up among the "lords of capital," either in the form of colonies, or by enmeshing other countries in thousands of threads of financial exploitation. Free trade and competition have been superseded by the striving for monopoly, for the seizure of territory for the investment of capital, for the export of raw materials from them, and so forth. From the liberator of nations that capitalism was in the struggle against feudalism, **imperialist-capitalism has become the greatest oppressor of nations**. Formerly progressive, **capitalism has become reactionary"** *(7)*

That transition ushered in an era of inter-imperialist reactionary wars to **redivide the colonies.** Comparing with the previous, Lenin stated; " Today, it would be ridiculous even to imagine a progressive bourgeoisie, a **progressive bourgeois movement**, in, for instance, such key members of the **"Concert" of Europe, as Britain and Germany.** The old **bourgeois "democracy**" of these two key states **has turned reactionary.** Potresov has "forgotten" this and has substituted the **standpoint of the old** (bourgeois) so-called democracy for that of **present-day** (non-bourgeois) **democracy**. This shift to the **standpoint of another class,** and moreover of **an old and outmoded class,** is sheer opportunism. There cannot be the least doubt that a shift like this **cannot be justified by** an analysis of the objective content of the historical process **in the old and the new epochs**. *(35)*

Lenin's critique and analysis, which set the attitude towards the First World War, concluded that "Present-day **democracy will remain true to itself only if it joins neither one nor the other imperialist bourgeoisie,** only if it says that the two sides are equally bad, and **if it wishes the defeat of the imperialist bourgeoisie in every country.** Any other decision will, in reality, be **national-liberal and have nothing in common with genuine internationalism."** *(35)* Lenin's stance in World War 1 was the **"revolutionary defeatism"** that socialists **should refuse to support any imperialist camp** in the war, promote working-class struggle, advocate **socialist revolution each within his own belligerent country** as the way to win a peace. Lenin's "Defeatism" was not a passive stand **but an active one** that called for **revolutionary action.**

The **change of the epoch** from "the success of **which bourgeoisie is more desirable**" of Marx and Engels' time to **"no** (imperialist) **bourgeoisie is desirable "** coined the **new policy of "revolutionary defeatism** "in cases of inter-imperialist wars.

Based on his analysis of the concrete situation at that time and under those conditions, Lenin's "Revolutionary **Defeatism**" stance worked. "**Civil war became a fact,**" said Lenin, " The transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, which we had predicted at the beginning of the revolution, and even at the beginning of the war… **circumstances in** which we found ourselves in October…" *(9)*

As an important confirmation of Marxist Dialectics, the **"defeatist"** stand transformed into a **"defencist"** stand. "Yes, we are now defencists," said Lenin. "We have been **defencists since October** 25, 1917; we have won the right to defend our native land… it is a policy of preparation for defense of our country, a steadfast policy, **not allowing** a single step to be taken that would aid the **extremist parties of the imperialist powers** in the East and West." *(10)* Following, Lenin stated that this **"right" to "defend" from the "defeatist"** stand "**is not achieved by** issuing declarations, but only by overthrowing the bourgeoisie in one's own country. In that matter, he stated, " it **would be absurd** to **concoct a recipe,** or **general rule** that would serve in all cases. One must **have the brains to analyze** the situation in each separate case." *(11)*

Either defeatist, defencist, or (active) neutral stands of Marxist Leninists; they all derive from **the fundamental principle** of having the interests of the proletariat and of its struggle **in mind** when we make an evaluation of the policy and stand. It is

never a narrow-minded, mechanical question of which side or, more like, which bourgeois will be beneficial to us; **it is the question of where the interests of the proletariat lie** – not based on **abstract general theories** but based on concrete situations and conditions. Not based on the interest of one country but calculating the i**nterests of people in general.**

"The second epoch is...the deep contradictions in modern democracy… the cities were attracting ever more inhabitants, and living conditions in the large cities of the whole world were being levelled out; capital was becoming internationalized, and at the big factories townsmen and country-folk, both native and alien, were intermingling. The class contradictions were growing ever more acute…" "At present," Lenin said, "**in the third epoch**, **no feudal fortresses** of all-European significance remain. Of course, **it is the task of present-day democracy to "utilize" conflicts,** but—despite Potresov and Kautsky—this international utilization must be directed, **not against individual national finance capital**, but **against international finance capital.** The utilization should not be affected by a class which was on the ascendant fifty or a hundred years ago. At that time, it was a question of "international action" by the most advanced bourgeois democracy; today it is another class that is confronted by a similar task created by history and advanced by the **objective state of affairs.**" *(24)*

As a great example to the learned by rote mistakes of our time which manifest itself with the prescriptive application of theories to all wars, Lenin criticizing Rosa said, "The only mistake,..would be... **to depart from the Marxist requirement of concreteness,** to apply the **appraisal of this war to all**

wars possible **under imperialism,** to ignore the national movements against imperialism.".. A national war might be **transformed into** an imperialist war **and vice versa**.".. "Only a sophist can disregard the difference between an imperialist and a national war on the grounds that one might develop into the other. Not infrequently, dialectics have served as a bridge to sophistry. But **we remain dialecticians, and we combat sophistry not by denying the possibility of all transformations in general**, but by analyzing the given phenomenon **in its concrete setting and development…"** *(8)*

Let's conclude this section with Lenin's critique of Plekhanov on a similar issue, which is striking and valuable in this sense and valid for the current.

"Plekhanov", Lenin says, "**sophistically denounces German opportunism so as to shield French and Russian opportunism**. The result is not a struggle against international opportunism**, but support for it.** He sophistically bemoans the fate of Belgium, while saying nothing about Galicia. **He sophistically confuses the period of imperialism** (i.e., one in which, as all Marxists hold, **the objective conditions are ripe for the collapse of capitalism**, and there are **masses of socialist proletarians)**, and t**he period of bourgeois-democratic national movements**; in other words, he confuses a period in which the destruction of bourgeois fatherlands by an international **revolution of the proletariat is imminent**, and the period of their inception and consolidation. **He sophistically accuses the German bourgeoisie of having broken the peace**, while **remaining silent about the lengthy and elaborate preparations for a war against Germany by the bourgeoisie of the "Triple Entente."** … To analyze

all of Plekhanov's sophisms would require a series of articles, and many of his ridiculous absurdities are hardly worth going into. We shall touch upon only one of his alleged arguments. **In 1870 Engels wrote to Marx that Wilhelm Liebknecht was mistaken** in making anti-Bismarckism his sole guiding principle. Plekhanov was glad to have discovered the quotation: **the same is true, he argues,** with regard to anti-tsarism! Let us, however, try to replace **sophistry** (i.e.**, the method of clutching at the outward similarity of instances, without considering the nexus between events**) with dialectics (i.e., **the method of studying all the concrete circumstances of an event and of its development**).

But what about Russia? Did our brave Plekhanov formerly have the courage to declare that **Russia's development demanded the conquest of Galicia**, Constantinople, Armenia, Persia, etc.? **Does he have the courage to say so now**? Has he considered that Germany had to progress from the national disunity of the Germans (who had been **oppressed both by France and Russia** in the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century) to a unified nation, whereas in Russia the Great Russians have crushed rather than united a number of other nations? Without giving thought to such things, **Plekhanov has simply masked his chauvinism** by **distorting the meaning of Engels's 1870 quotation** in the same fashion as Südekum **has distorted an 1891 quotation from Engels** to the effect that the Germans must wage a life-and-death struggle against the allied armies of France and Russia. *(23)*

The First World War era **was unique** because it occurred after the era of bourgeois democratic revolutions in Western

European Countries, when capitalism had transitioned from its progressive to its reactionary stage of monopoly capitalism (imperialism). The war was between the monopoly-capitalist (imperialist) countries.

Let's refer to Stalin, who made the comparison as he analyzed the 2n WW.

3.7-Second World War – Stalin's time and his attitude to the war

> "Let us, however, try to **replace sophistry** (i.e., the method of clutching at the outward **similarity** of instances, **without** considering the nexus between events) **with dialectics** (i.e., the method of **studying all the concrete circumstances** of an event and of its development)." (23)

Stalin followed and applied this principle and teaching during the Second World War. In a way similar to the First World War, he made an agreement with aggressive *(Lenin calls it extremist)* Imperialist Germany to prepare for the 2nd imperialist World War. He reached out to other **non-aggressive imperialists** for an alliance for peace. The Second World War was an **inter-imperialist war**; however, Stalin's attitude differed because the **conditions were different**. He explained;

> "A **distinguishing feature** of the new crisis is that **it differs in many respects** from the preceding one, and, moreover, differs for the worse and not for the better. …the present crisis has broken out **not in time of peace,** but at a time when a second imperialist war **has already**

> **begun**.. when all the other big capitalist powers are beginning to reorganize themselves **on a war footing**." (36)

Stalin was pointing out the "reorganization of the economy on a war footing." He explained the difference and said this difference is;

> "…as distinct from the preceding crisis, the present crisis is not a general one, but as yet involves chiefly the **economically powerful countries which have not yet placed themselves on a war economy basis**. As regards the **aggressive countries**, such as Japan, Germany, and Italy, who have already reorganized their economy on a war footing, they, because of the intense development of their war industry, are not yet experiencing a crisis of overproduction, although they are approaching it. This means that by the time the economically powerful, **non-aggressive countries** begin to emerge from the phase of crisis the aggressive countries, having exhausted their reserves of gold and raw material in the course of war fever, are **bound to enter a phase of very severe crisis**." (36)

Stalin's assessment strikingly **describes the current world situation**: the decline of aggressive-fascist imperialist US-West heading towards economic crisis, and non-aggressive imperialists *(in the economic sense)* who are becoming economically powerful, **yet whose economies are not on a war footing.** This is the concrete assessment based on the concrete conditions and the application of the dialectics of Marxism in determining the scientific concept of imperialism – **both in economic and military sense.**

Stalin continued;

> "… It is **no longer** a question of competition in the markets, of a commercial war, of dumping. These methods of struggle have long been recognized as inadequate. **It is now a question of a new redivision of the world,** of spheres of influence and colonies, by military action...the **bloc of three aggressive states** came to be formed. A new redivision of the world by means of war became imminent.
>
> **After the first imperialist war** the victor states, primarily Britain, France, and the United States, set up a new regime in the relations between countries, the post-war peace regime. .. However, three a**ggressive states**, Japan tore up the Nine-Power Pact, and Germany and Italy the Versailles Treaty, and the **new imperialist war launched by them,** upset the entire system of this post-war peace regime… The **new imperialist war became a fact.**" (36)

The determination of the **type of war was not different** – it was an "**imperialist war**" but with distinctions from the previous imperialist war. Stalin evaluated the character of this distinction with the questions;

"To what are we to attribute this one-sided and strange character of the new imperialist war?

How is it that the **non-aggressive countries,** which possess such vast opportunities, have so easily and without resistance abandoned their positions and their obligations **to please the aggressors**?

Is it to be attributed to the weakness of the non-aggressive states? Of course not! Combined, the non-aggressive, democratic states are unquestionably stronger than the fascist states, both economically and militarily.

To what then are we to attribute the **systematic concessions made by these states to the aggressors**?" *(36)*

Stalin clearly **distinguished** between *(extremist-bellicose)* **aggressive** imperialists and **non-aggressive** imperialists. He explained;

"The chief reason is that the **majority of the non-aggressive countries,** particularly Britain and France, have rejected the policy of collective security, the policy of collective resistance to aggressors, and have taken up a position of non-intervention, a position of "neutrality." *(36)*

Before the war, in his interview, Stalin said:

> "In my opinion there are two seats of war danger. **The first** is in the Far East, in the zone of Japan. I have in mind the numerous statements made by Japanese military men containing threats against other powers. **The second seat** is in the zone of Germany. It is hard to say which is the most menacing, but both exist and are active. Compared with these two principal seats of war danger, the Italian-Abyssinian war is an episode. At present, the Far Eastern seat of danger reveals the greatest activity. However, the center of this danger may shift to Europe." (12)

Three years later in his Report on the Work of the Central Committee to the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.) Stalin said;

"**What changes exactly have taken place** in the international situation **in this period?** In what way exactly have the foreign and internal affairs of our country changed?

For the capitalist countries this period was one of very profound perturbations in both the economic and political spheres. In the economic sphere these were years of depression, followed, **from the beginning of the latter half of 1937**, by a period of new economic crisis, of a new **decline of industry in the United States, Great Britain, and France;** consequently, these were years of new economic complications. In the political sphere they were years of serious political conflicts and perturbations… The entire post-war system, the so-called peace regime, has been shaken to its foundations.

Let us now examine the concrete data illustrating the changes in the international situation.

1. New Economic Crisis in the Capitalist Countries, Intensification of the Struggle for Markets and Sources of Raw Material, and for a New Redivision of the World.

The **economic crisis** which broke out in the capitalist countries in the latter half of 1929 lasted until the end of 1933. After that, the crisis passed into a depression and was then followed by a certain revival, a certain upward trend in industry. But this industrial upturn did not develop into a boom, as is usually the case in a period of revival. On the contrary, **in the latter half of 1937 a new economic crisis began** which seized the United States first of all and then England, France and a number of other countries.

The capitalist countries thus faced a new economic crisis before they had even recovered from the ravages of the recent one.

This circumstance naturally led to higher unemployment. The number of unemployed in capitalist countries, which had fallen from thirty million in 1933 to fourteen million in 1937, has now again risen to eighteen million as a result of the new economic crisis. "

In reference to "neutrality," "non-intervention," which is so widely used as a ready-made formula,

Stalin's explanation was enlightening.

> "Formally speaking, **the policy of non-intervention might be defined as follows**:
>
> "**Let each country defend itself against the aggressors as it likes and as best it can.** That is not our affair. We shall trade both with the aggressors and with their victims."
>
> **But in practice**, the policy of **non-intervention means conniving at aggression**, giving **free rein to war** and, consequently, **transforming it into a world war**. The policy of non-intervention reveals an eagerness, a desire, not to hinder the aggressors in their nefarious work. *(36)*

In 1942, after the alliance was formed with the non-aggressive powers against the aggressive imperialists, Stalin responded to the question, "What is the **Soviet view of the Allied campaign in Africa?**"

> The Soviet view of this campaign is that **it represents an outstanding fact of major importance,** demonstrating

the growing might of the armed forces of the Allies and opening the prospect of the **disintegration of the Italy-German coalition** in the nearest future." *(37)*

Stalin was not shy to congratulate the victories of her alliances on his telegrams to different leaders; he stated;

> ***I congratulate you and the valiant American and British troops on the brilliant victory*** *which has resulted in the liberation of Bizerta and Tunis from Hitler's tyranny.* ***I wish you further successes.*** *(38)*

In 1944, Stalin in his Speech at Celebration Meeting of the Moscow Soviet of Working People's Deputies and Moscow Party and Public Organizations said;

The past year has been **a year of triumph of the common cause of the anti-German coalition** for the sake of which the peoples of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States of America have united in a fighting alliance.

The decision of the Teheran Conference on **joint actions against Germany** and the brilliant realization of that decision are one of the striking indications of the consolidation of the front of the anti-Hitler Coalition. There are few instances in history of plans for large-scale military operations undertaken in joint actions **against a common enemy** being carried out so fully and with such precision as the plan for a joint blow against Germany drawn up at the Teheran Conference.

… There is talk of differences between the **three Powers** on certain security problems. **Differences do exist, of course,** and they will arise on a number of other issues as well... **What matters is**

not that there are differences, but that these differences do not transgress the bounds of **what the interests of the unity** of the three Great Powers allow, and that, in the long run, they are resolved in accordance with the interests of that unity.

To win the war against Germany is to accomplish a great historic task. But to win the war **does not in itself mean to ensure for the peoples a lasting peace** and guaranteed security in the future. The task is not only to win the war **but also to make new aggression and new war impossible**—if not for ever, then at least for a long time to come." *(41)*

Stalin did not have the illusion that the non-aggressive imperialists would not change their character. His policy was to "utilize" the contradictions between the imperialist powers for the best interests of the proletariat, in particular and in general. Existing conditions and situations required for the duration, **the task to be "utilizing" the conflict**, not a**gainst all international finance capital** but against individual national finance capital, whereas **before the October Revolution**, during the First World War, **it was the other way around.**

In his interview of 1946, Stalin says ;

"Mr. Churchill now takes the stand of the warmongers, and in this Mr. **Churchill is not alone.** He has friends not only **in Britain but in the United States of America** as well.

A point to be noted is that in this respect Mr. **Churchill and his friends bear a striking resemblance to Hitler and his friends.** Hitler began his work of unleashing war by **proclaiming a race theory**, declaring that only German-speaking people constituted a superior nation. Mr. Churchill **sets out to unleash**

war with a race theory, asserting that only English-speaking nations are superior nations, who are called upon to decide the destinies of the entire world. Mr. Churchill, and his friends in Britain and the United States, present to the non-English speaking nations something in the nature of an ultimatum: **"Accept our rule voluntarily, and then all will be well; otherwise, war is inevitable."…** There can be no doubt that Mr. Churchill's **position is a war position."** (17)

In his **1951** interview, Stalin responds to the question "Do you consider a new world war inevitable?":

"At least at the present time it cannot be considered inevitable… **these aggressive forces** control the reactionary governments and direct them. But at the same time, they are afraid of their people who do not want a new war and stand for the maintenance of peace. Therefore, **they are trying to use reactionary governments in order to enmesh their peoples with lies**, to deceive them, and to depict the new war as defensive and the peaceful policy of the peace-loving countries as aggressive. **They are trying to deceive their people in order to impose on them their aggressive plans and to draw them into a war.**

Precisely for this reason they are afraid of the campaign in defense of peace, fearing that it can expose the **aggressive intentions of the reactionary governments.**

Peace will be preserved and consolidated if the people take the cause of **preserving peace into their own hands** and will defend it to the end. **War may become inevitable if the warmongers succeed in entangling the masses of the people in lies, in deceiving them and drawing them into a new world war."** (18)

As the First WW started as an imperialist war, the Second WW started as an imperialist war; each had its distinctive character. Unlike those who claim the Second World War was not an imperialist war, Stalin clearly states;

> "**the Second World War began not as a war with the U.S.S.R., but as a war between capitalist countries**. Why? Firstly, because war with the U.S.S.R., as a socialist land, is more dangerous to capitalism than war between capitalist countries; for whereas **war between capitalist countries puts in question only the supremacy of certain capitalist countries over others,** war with the U.S.S.R. must certainly put in question the existence of capitalism itself. Secondly, because the capitalists, although they clamor, for "propaganda" purposes, about the aggressiveness of the Soviet Union, do not themselves believe that it is aggressive, because they are aware of the Soviet Union's peaceful policy and know that **it will not itself attack capitalist countries**.

After the First World War it was similarly believed that Germany had been definitely put out of action… **that Germany would never rise to her feet again, and that there would be no more wars between capitalist countries.** In spite of this, Germany rose to her feet again **as a great power within the space of some fifteen or twenty years after her defeat**… **Britain and the United States helped Germany** to recover economically and to enhance her economic war potential. Of course, when the United States and Britain assisted Germany's economic recovery, **they did so with a view to setting a recovered Germany against the Soviet Union**, to utilizing her against the land of socialism. But

Germany directed her forces in the first place a**gainst the Anglo-French-American bloc.**

Consequently, the struggle of the capitalist countries for markets and their **desire to crush their competitors proved in practice** to be stronger than the contradictions between the capitalist camp and the socialist camp.

What guarantee is there, then, that Germany and Japan will not rise to their feet again, will not attempt to break out of American bondage and live their own independent lives? **I think there is no such guarantee.** But **it follows from this that the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries remains in force…** To eliminate the inevitability of war, **it is necessary to abolish imperialism.** (19)

3.8- **Conclusion of this section**

As we see, each war, **despite its general class context,** had different characteristics **based on** existing conditions and the **economic and military polic**ies followed by the belligerent countries. As Lenin warned Relying on "**the ready-made conclusions** one had acquired, **without** putting in a great deal of **serious and hard work,** without **understanding the facts** which he must **examine critically,** ' **one** would be a very deplorable Communist." *(20)*

Using ready-made conclusions and formulas forces one into sophistry.

> "**By means of patent sophistry, Marxism is stripped of its revolutionary living spirit;** everything is recognised

in Marxism **except** the revolutionary methods of struggle" (7)

History, without a doubt, shows that **the attitude of Marxist Leninists to the wars, f**rom Marx & Engels to Lenin to Stalin, fundamentally had one thing in mind: **the interests of the proletariat and her struggle**, and determination of **how to "utilize" these conflicts** so that it brings **the greatest possible advantage** for them. Not the memorized and sloganized general theories and ready-made conclusions, but **the concrete assessment of the concrete situation** for the fundamental interests in mind.

As Lenin described years ago, which is fully and precisely relevant to today's approach to imperialism, he stated that "the essence of the matter is that Kautsky **detaches the politics of imperialism from its economics".** This is exactly what the learned-by-rote "theorists" do when they apply the concept of imperialism to any given country. They are stuck in the "economics" of imperialism, **totally divorced from the politics of it.**

The crux of the matter is the conflict between Leninist-Bolshevik theory of the **inevitability of multipolarity** due to the law of uneven economic development and the **Kautskyite theory** which argues that the conflicts between the world's great powers and empires can be reconciled for **a unipolar world order** through global organizations such as the IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO, and therefore Lenin's theory of imperialism is outdated.

Kautskyite argument inevitably aligns with the utopia that **"peace is achievable"** in a capitalist world order; Lenin's argument is that **war is inevitable** as long as capitalism reigns.

Wars vary in character and form; so do the stands against them. **No** ready-made schema applies to all wars and the stands taken against them. The character of wars during Marx and Engels' time was different, and the form of wars in later times was different, so were the stands against them. The First World War was different in that all imperialist countries were ready for war both economically, politically and militarily. In this war, the revolutionaries' task was to use inter-imperialist conflict **against** international finance capital. In the Second World War, Stalin's policy was to "utilize" the contradictions between imperialist powers **for the best interests of the proletariat,** in particular and in general. Existing conditions and situations **required,** for the duration, the task of "utilizing" the conflict, **not against all** international finance capital but **against individual national finance capital.**

While criticizing Rosa Lenin was saying: "**we remain dialecticians** and we **combat sophistry not by denying** the possibility of all transformations in general, but by analyzing the given phenomenon **in its concrete setting and development**… This "epoch" has made the policies of the present great powers thoroughly imperialist… Objectively, the feudal and dynastic wars were **then** opposed by revolutionary democratic wars, by wars for national liberation. This was the **historical task of that epoch.** At **present,** the objective situation in the biggest advanced states of Europe **is different**…From the standpoint of progress, from the standpoint of the progressive class, the **imperialist bourgeois war, the war of highly developed capitalism**, can, objectively, be opposed **only with a war against the bourgeoisie**, i.e., **primarily civil war** for power between the

proletariat and the bourgeoisie.. Marxist **dialectics call** for a **concrete analysis** of each specific historical situation…" *(8)*

Imperialism means the monopolization and **dominance of finance capital,** not only domestically but internationally. Imperialism means **deindustrialization** while the **military** takes over and the economy shifts to **a war footing.** Imperialism aligns its **interests with instability**, conflict, and war, because **imperialism means war;** aggressive imperialists, in the full sense of the concept, seek war.

"This is why in our times, when economic conflicts have reached an unusual degree of intensity, we are witnessing a **mad orgy of armaments**. Thus **the rule of finance capital implies both; imperialism** (in its economic sense E.A) **and militarism** (in its political sense E.A) **.** In this sense militarism is **no less a typical** historic phenomenon than finance capital itself… even where there are **relatively equal** economic structures.." (40)

Thus, **Imperialism and war are inseparable twins.** That is why the issue of "imperialism" and attitude to it cannot be studied **independently from its political aspect-** that is *(militarization of industry and)* war- in each given concrete condition and situation. Lenin was saying that "**Abstract theoretical reasoning** may lead to the conclusion at which Kautsky has arrived .. by abandoning Marxism.

When the concept of imperialism is studied and applied **subjectively and arbitrarily**, and when the assessment of wars and the decisions to take a stand against a specific war are made in direct connection with that arbitrary application, the assessment of

wars and the decisions to take a stand against a specific war turn out to be **subjective and arbitrary**.

This is a **common practice of chauvinists and ultra-imperialists** which is unconsciously followed by the sincere leftists. Imperialists and their mouthpieces, most often penetrating the Marxist-Leninist left through the "entrism" tactics once proposed by Trotsky, invent, initiate, and disseminate theories that **serve bourgeois interests.**

They reduce the theory of imperialism to rivalries, competition of the known imperialist powers in order to **deflect attention from the aggressive**, fascist imperialist power they defend. In most cases, this reflects itself in learned-by-rote theories and ready-made schemes that put all monopoly-capitalist (imperialist in the economic sense) countries in the same basket as the militarized, aggressive, and warmongering monopolist countries that fit the scientific definition of imperialism. It is the **most fashionable alternative to the Leninist analytical** framework of a modern version of Kautsky's theory of **ultra-imperialism, the world-system theory**, **which avoids** the economic, political, and ultimately military power that each monopoly capitalist group can leverage in the process of dividing the world into "center," "semi-periphery," and "periphery." They defend a unipolar world order and disregard the concrete assessment of where the interests of each lie; "consumer or producer" and thus, "war or peace" in that specific given time.

The Scientific Definition Summarized

"The scientific concept of imperialism is the dialectical unity of:

Economic essence: Monopoly capital; finance capital dominance; capital export; formation of a financial oligarchy; and, in its highest stage, deindustrialization, financialization, and militarization of the economy.

Political essence: The systematic conversion of the economy to a war footing; the projection of power through military force or its threat; the use of subjugation and plunder as a continuation of economic policy; and the maintenance of perpetual conflicts to feed the military-industrial complex.

A country may fit the economic definition without being imperialist in the scientific sense—particularly if it is under the hegemony of a more powerful imperialist state. But when both economic and political aspects combine, we have imperialism proper.

This historical survey demonstrates that the character of wars changes with the character of capitalism itself. What unites them is the inseparability of imperialism and war. What differentiates them is the specific phase of monopoly capitalism and the uneven development among imperialist states. These lessons are essential for applying the framework to contemporary cases.

General Conclusion

It is an indisputable fact that the common definition and application of the term "imperialism" is being used, in most cases, consciously abused to deflect attention from the aggressive, bellicose, and warmongering imperialist power(s). Despite all the "quotes" from Lenin, **the way the term is being used has nothing to do with Leninism**. Aside from the conscious confusion of the subject by Kautskyites and all those who try to revise

Marxism-Leninism for the benefit of one or the other imperialist power, the sincere but ignorant, assessment-lazy use of the term, divorced from concrete realities, falls short of Marxism-Leninism if not anti-Marxist-Leninist.

Paying attention to Lenin's description, which leaves no room for misunderstanding: "Economically, **imperialism** (or the "era" of finance capital—it is not a matter of words) **is the highest stage in the development of capitalism,** one in which production has assumed such big, immense proportions that free competition gives way to monopoly. **That is the economic essence of imperialism**." *(44)*

Lenin himself stressed the fact that his definition of imperialism was limited to its economic aspect of the subject. Lenin, in his foreword to Imperialism, stated that

> "the pamphlet was written with an eye to the tsarist censorship. Hence, I was not only forced to **confine myself strictly to an exclusively theoretical, specifically economic analysis of facts**, but to formulate the **few necessary** observations **on politics** with extreme caution… I trust that this pamphlet will help the reader to understand the fundamental **economic question**, that of the **economic essence of imperialism…imperialism can and must be defined differently** if we bear in mind **not** only the basic, **purely economic** concepts—to which **the above definition is limited..**" (1)

Lenin, who always reminds the study of preceding internal policy of a country for any assessment, states that "the political superstructure of this new economy, of monopoly

capitalism *(imperialism is monopoly capitalism)* is the change from democracy to political reaction. **Democracy corresponds to free competition**. Political **reaction corresponds to monopoly**.

"Finance capital strives for domination, not freedom…,It is fundamentally wrong, un-Marxist and unscientific, **to single out "foreign policy" from policy in general,** let alone counterpose **foreign policy to home policy**. Both in foreign and **home policy imperialism strives towards violations of democracy,** towards reaction. In this sense imperialism is indisputably the "negation" of democracy in general." *(44)*

Does this explanation **leave any room** to comprehend the fact that there is at least one other essence of imperialism? Unless one is not sincere and serious about Marxism-Leninism, it is very clear that those words do not leave any room for misunderstanding. Lenin, with the same clarity, stated, "needless to say that **there can be no concrete historical analysis** of war, if that analysis does not have for its basis a **full understanding of the nature of imperialism, both from its economic and political aspects.** Without this, **it is impossible** to approach an understanding of the economic and diplomatic situation of the last decades, and without such an understanding, **it is ridiculous even to speak of forming a correct view on war.** (2)

It is clear that to define "imperialism" in its scientific meaning, one has to analyze, observe, and **make the dialectical connections** between the **economic and political** aspects of imperialism. This connection must be **based on existing concrete conditions** and situations, not on assumptions or possibilities like: "it is a monopoly capitalist country, so it is imperialist regardless of

having a military industry or not". This argument is infantile, made mostly by those who learn by rote and have no clue about the need to apply Marxist dialectics to general theories. One country may have monopoly capitalism but may not be an actual imperialist (yet). However, as an exception, another country that does not have monopoly capitalism, or is not a highly industrialized economy, but may have a strong military and be actively expansionist, may be an actual imperialist. Most European countries, some Latin American and Asian countries have monopolies and export capital; should we call all of them imperialist in its scientific meaning? No, we cannot. Turkiye is almost a deindustrialized country with a highly developed military industry, with military presence in a number of countries and actual invasion of Syria. That makes Turkiye an imperialist country, **not because it is a monopoly capitalist one**.

Lenin pointed out that """The problem of **imperialism** is not only a **most essential** one, but, we may say it is the **most essential problem** in that realm of economic science". (2) That is why it is important to be objective and make the necessary concrete analysis before we reach a conclusion on arbitrarily applying the term to a country. Because " **we remain dialecticians and we combat sophistry …** by analyzing the given phenomenon **in its concrete setting and development…"** *(8)*

Leninist theories are not prescriptions or ready-made schemes to apply arbitrarily, because "**Marxist dialectical method forbids the employment of "ready-made schemes"** and **abstract formulas,** but demands the thorough, **detailed analysis of a process in all its concreteness,** basing its conclusions only on

such an analysis. " (42) **Marxists do not proceed** from the **generalized theories** to assessment of a given situation which renders subjectivity and arbitrariness but **proceed from the assessment of concrete situation to the application of theories.** Distinguishing the Bolsheviks from the rest**, " Marx", says** Lenin, "... **speaks only of the concrete situation;** Plekhanov draws a **general conclusion** without at all considering the question **in its concreteness.**" *(43)*

This concreteness, rather than applying schemes based on learned by rote and memorized theories without any analysis, distinguishes the Bolsheviks from the rest. Lenin said that "**If a Communist** took it into his head to boast about his communism because of the **ready-made conclusions** he had acquired, without putting in a great deal of serious and hard work, without understanding the facts which he must examine critically, he would be a **very deplorable Communist.**" (27)

As in all cases, in the case of "imperialism," it is the responsibility and duty of Leninists to consider all aspects and dialectical connections to define and apply the concept of imperialism to any given country. Both the practices that make up the **essence of an imperialist economic policy** and **the essence of an imperialist political policy should** be considered and should be applicable to a given country **before labeling** that country as "imperialist" in its scientific meaning.

In addition, as Stalin explained, it is crucial to analyze whether a country's posturing is **aggressive or defensive**. As we have read through Stalin's approach, this analysis first and foremost depends on our determination of the question of **"where their interests lie"**: war or peace in that given concrete situation.

From all of the above, one can deduce the synopsis of the scientific definition of imperialism as;

1) **Monopolization** of all major industries under the dominance of finance capital

2) **Formation of state capitalism** in order to consolidate all the other major state institutions

3) **Export of capital** and monopolization and control of major international financial institutions and international transactions in any shape and form.

4) **Deindustrialization** of the economy through shifting production to other countries for cheap labor.

5) In order to protect their international monopoly of financial institutions and their exported capital, their investments, **militarization of industry,** and developing its **economy on a war-footing** - not defensive but aggressive- offensive character.

6) Turning **the industrialized, producer country into a consumer** country which heavily depends on the "producer" and on the earth mineral-rich countries for its needs in general and military industry and technology industry in particular, in return which inevitably forces the country to have an **aggressive posturing** rather than a **defensive posturing in the** international arena.

7) That translates into **exporting military** means and men to other countries on a **permanent basis** in order to **subjugate any country** that may take action against its interests.

In simple words, and proceeding from the principle that "Marxists must proceed not from what is possible, but from what is real" (33) **branding of a country as "imperialist "** in its scientific meaning should be made based on the concrete realities of that given time with the answer to the questions of ;

1) whether the country is **a producer** or **consumer,** 2) whether the **interests of that given country are aligned with war or peace, 3)** whether the country has a military industry and the **economy of which is built on war-footing for subjugating others.** 4) whether it has a military **aggressive posture** or **defensive posture.** Lacking any of these characteristics at **that given time, a country cannot be branded as "imperialist"** in its scientific meaning without differentiation.

Proceeding from learned-by-rote theories and ready-made schemes will end up with **anti-Leninist conclusions on any given subject, especially when the concept of imperialism is applied arbitrarily.**

The question of inter-imperialist wars is another subject, yet one can draw a conclusion from Lenin and Stalin's assessments above. Let's, for now, keep in mind Lenin's assessment that " if we are not giving any chance for sincere negotiations and the war is forced upon us, that war is a just war." Obviously he was not talking about the Soviets because any war of the Soviets would be a just war. He was talking in general.

Notes

* Lenin, Preface to N. Bukharin's Pamphlet, Imperialism, and the World Economy

(1) Lenin, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism

(2) Stalin, 7th Extended Plenary Session of the ICCI

(3) Bukharin, Imperialism and World Economy

(4) Lenin, "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It"

(5) Lenin, Address To The Second All-Russia Congress Of Communist Organisations Of The Peoples of The East

(6) Lenin, Bellicose Militarism, and the Anti-Militarist Tactics of Social-Democracy

(7) Lenin, Socialism and War

(8) Lenin, Junius Pamphlet

(9) Lenin, Extraordinary Seventh Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)

(10) Lenin, Report On Foreign Policy

(11) Lenin, Left-wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder. No Compromises?

(12) Stalin, Interview Roy Howard, March 1, 1936

(13) Stalin, Report on the Work of the Central Committee to the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.)

(14) Stalin, The Allied Campaign in Africa Answers to Associated Press Moscow Correspondent

(15) Stalin, To President Roosevelt

(16) Stalin, Speech at Celebration Meeting of the Moscow Soviet of Working People's Deputies and Moscow Party and Public Organizations

(17) Stalin, Interview to “Pravda” Correspondent Concerning Mr. Winston Churchill’s Speech at Fulton, March 1946

(18) Stalin, interview with correspondent of Pravda, February 16, 1951

(19) Stalin, Economic Problems of the USSR, 1951

(20) Lenin, The Tasks of the Youth Leagues

(21) Lenin, The Proletarian Revolution, and the Renegade Kautsky

(22) Lenin, Conspectus of Hegel’s Book Lectures On the History of Philosophy, 1915

(23) Lenin, The Russian Brand of Südekum, February 1, 1915

(24) Lenin, Speech At A Meeting In Butyrsky District

(25) Stalin, On the results of the July Plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks

(26) Stalin, 7" Extended Plenary Session of the ICCI

(27) Lenin, The Tasks of the Youth Leagues

(28) Bukharin, Toward a Theory of the Imperialist State

(29) Lenin, Address To The Second All-Russia Congress Of Communist Organisations Of The Peoples of The East

(30) Lenin, Lecture on the Proletariat, and War

(31) Basic Economic Law of Monopoly Capitalism, 1954

(32) A. Koh, Finance capital, Imperialism and War 1927

(33) Lenin, Letters on Tactics

(34) E. Varga, Economic causes and consequences of the World War

(35) Lenin, Under false flag

(36) Stalin, Report on the Work of the Central Committee to the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.)

(37) Stalin, The Allied Campaign in Africa Answers to Associated Press Moscow Correspondent

(38) Stalin, To President Roosevelt

(39) Stalin, Speech at Celebration Meeting of the Moscow Soviet of Working People's Deputies and Moscow Party and Public Organizations

(40) Bukharin, Means of Competitive Struggle, and State Power

(41) Stalin, The Question of Peace, and Security

(42) Lenin, Guerrilla Warfare

(43) Lenin, Plekhanov's Reference to History

(44) Lenin, A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism - What Is Economic Analysis?

(45) Lenin, The Attitude of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party Towards the War

Chapter 4- Is China an Imperialist country by the definition of Lenin's Scientific Imperialism theory?

4.1-Preface

Marxist-Leninists have their own methodology, which is neither metaphysical nor idealist, but rather materialist, dialectical, and historical. ML methodology relies on concrete analysis and takes into **consideration the real processes of history in their development**, in all their aspects, in the way that history has established them. For this reason, they reject any conception **that proceeds from preconceived or utopian models**. Applying theories to concrete conditions with rigorous proof tailored to those specific realities is **a crucial methodology** for any serious Marxist-Leninist analysis. ML analysis **is not a subjective abstraction** based on sloganized theories but **based on objective realities** in connection with fundamental ML theories.

This methodology is essential when examining the recurring accusation that China is an imperialist country. While the term "imperialism" is often used as a political slur/smear, for a Marxist-Leninist, it is a scientific category with a precise definition. Therefore, to produce a convincing theoretical argument, one cannot merely assert the label; **one must systematically prove it.** The accuser must meet a threefold burden of proof, which this paper will argue they have failed to satisfy.

The **accuser must prove**: (1) that China is a capitalist country, (2) that the Communist Party of China constitutes a new 'bourgeois' class ruling in its own interest, and (3) that China meets each of the seven conditions of Lenin's scientific definition of imperialism. This work will argue that the **accusers fail at every stage of**

this burden of proof. To do so, we must proceed through a rigorous analysis, beginning with the necessary theoretical foundations of the state, class, and imperialism. We will then conduct a concrete analysis of China's economic transition, comparing it to the historical precedent of the USSR's New Economic Policy (NEP) to avoid **simplistic assumptions based on rote theories**. Finally, we will systematically test China against each of Lenin's criteria of a scientific concept of imperialism.

To study and **understand the subject**, one must be well-versed in Marxist-Leninist economics and have a **strong grasp of historical contexts**, such as the USSR's development under state capitalism. **Misusing terms without clear understanding** can lead to incorrect conclusions. Marxist-Leninists **value nuanced understanding** over simplistic **assumptions** based on theories learned by rote. Lenin and Stalin themselves warned that terms can be misapplied when abstracted from a country's existing conditions and its unique context. A dialectical analysis, by its nature, reveals the direct and indirect interconnections between these subjects. Consequently, some thematic redundancy will appear as we revisit concepts from different angles—not as a flaw, but as a necessary feature of examining a complex totality.

Without deep knowledge and proper application of Marxist dialectics, **most analyses identify state capitalism with imperialism** without sufficient differentiation, leading to flawed conclusions. It is important to adhere to strict definitions while remaining **dialectically connected to concrete conditions.**

ML theory applies differently to countries at **varying stages of development** than to established capitalist countries. MLs **reject**

subjective application of ML theories without considering concrete conditions.

Based on Lenin's theory of the scientific concept of imperialism, we will examine whether the existing arguments against China's imperialism hold up under the strict criteria of ML theory.

4.2-Introduction

"Only he is a Marxist," said Lenin, "who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the **recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat.** This is what constitutes **the most profound difference** between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (and even big) bourgeoisie. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of **Marxism is to be tested.**" *Lenin, The State and Revolution*

On the question of whether China is an "imperialist" or not, one of the fundamental requirements **to prove is that the Chinese State is controlled by the capitalist class.** This is not a minor technicality; it is the **decisive condition** upon which all other conditions depend. Yet not one argument among the dozens of articles on this subject touches on this question because, under Marxist-Leninist theory, it is impossible to prove. The **accusers consistently conflate the capitalist state,** formed and organized by the capitalist class to serve its interests, **with the socialist state,** formed through the **acquisition** of political power after a proletarian-peasant revolution. These are **qualitatively different** entities, and conflating them is a fundamental category error.

The class character of state power is precisely what the accusers of China **systematically avoid**. To call China 'imperialist' without first establishing that the Chinese state is controlled by the capitalist class is to abandon the **scientific method** for sloganeering.

China's economic reality **presents a complex picture that defies simplistic categorization.** On one hand, China utilizes market mechanisms and engages in global trade. On the other hand, the commanding heights of the economy remain **under the direct control of the socialist state,** which directs development toward domestic welfare, poverty eradication, and infrastructure, rather than toward the extraction of super-profits through monopoly capital. Some analysts call this "**state capitalism," while others describe it as a "monopoly regime.**" However, even those who employ the term "state capitalism" typically do not equate it with imperialism in Lenin's sense, acknowledging the qualitative difference in state power and purpose. The **key distinction, often elided in superficial critiques**, lies in for whom the surplus is produced and **by which class the state is controlled.**

The debate, therefore, cannot be resolved through **ideological slogans or sensationalist headlines.** It requires a **return to the Marxist-Leninist method:** a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, grounded in the historical development of socialism, and a systematic application of Lenin's scientific criteria.

The burden of proof, as established in the Preface, is threefold: the accuser must prove that (1) **China is a capitalist country**, (2) the Communist **Party of China constitutes a new "bourgeois"** class ruling in its own interest, and (3) China **meets each of the seven conditions** of Lenin's scientific definition of

imperialism. This work will demonstrate that the accusers fail at every stage.

Lenin in context, quoting from the manifesto, stated, professional revolutionaries,

> "Communists fight for the immediate goals of the working class and for the realization of their interests at that moment; but within the current movement, **they also represent and secure the future of this movement.**" *The Communist Manifesto*

So, the professional revolutionaries form the **Party as the vanguard of the laborers** and peasants. The political power is acquired under their leadership, and the State is controlled and managed by them as the vanguard protecting the interests of the exploited and oppressed. Here comes another bourgeois perspective and argument of "**human nature**. They **cannot imagine** idealistic people who keep the interests of the general people in mind. For them, despite historically proven facts, **professional revolutionaries cannot live and die for a cause in the interests of the laboring masses, for the cause of socialism**.

The purpose of this Introduction is to outline the scientific investigation that follows. To prove that the accusations against China are ideologically driven and scientifically false, we must proceed dialectically, moving from the most fundamental concepts to their concrete application. The article will therefore proceed as follows:

First, we will establish the necessary **Theoretical Background**. This foundational section will define class, state, party, and professional revolutionaries, and will address the bourgeois myth

of a fixed "human nature" based on greed. Crucially, it will draw the vital distinction between **bureaucracy as an apparatus** (a technical tool of administration) and **bureaucracy as a class** (a ruling stratum that owns the means of production). Without this distinction, the analysis cannot proceed.

Second, we will examine the historical precedent of economic transition by comparing Lenin's **New Economic Policy (NEP)** with **China's Economic Policy (EP)**. This comparison is essential because it demonstrates that utilizing capitalist methods (markets, foreign investment) under the strict control of a proletarian state is a Leninist tradition, not a deviation from it.

Third, we will briefly delve into the distinction between **Socialism and Communism**—a scientific clarification that the accusers consciously ignore in order to conflate the necessary imperfections of the lower phase of communist society with capitalism itself.

Fourth, we will **debunk the gossip and narratives** produced not from evidence, but from ideological warfare. This section will reveal how narratives are manufactured and weaponized against socialist states.

Fifth, we will present the **Scientific Definition of Imperialism**, as formulated by Lenin, covering its economic and political aspects in a clear, summarized form. This definition provides the objective criteria we will use to test China.

Sixth, we will apply this scientific definition by testing China against the **Seven Conditions of Imperialism**. This empirical test will demonstrate, with scientific precision, that China does not meet the material conditions of imperialism.

Seventh, we will affirm China's socialist character by applying the qualitative criteria established by Stalin, providing a comparative perspective on socialist states to demonstrate that **China is not an exception to, but a continuation of, the socialist tradition.**

Eighth, the **Conclusion** will synthesize the argument: the accusers of China are not applying Lenin's definition; **they are abandoning it for bourgeois propaganda.** Their failure **is not scientific, but ideological.**

4.3- The Battlefield of Ideology - Ideological Warfare and the 5th Column

> "The dialectical method... holds that the process of development from the lower to the higher takes place not as a harmonious unfolding of phenomena, but as a disclosure of the contradictions inherent in things and phenomena, as a 'struggle' of opposite tendencies which operate on the basis of these contradictions." Stalin, *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*

This section is a summarized application of the prior article '**From Ideological Struggle to Ideological Warfare.**' Here, we focus specifically on the 'Kafkatrap' mechanism as it applies to China.

4.3.1- **The Stalin Quote: A Case Study in Dialectical Reading**

Examining whether China is imperialist according to Lenin's scientific definition cannot begin with the accusation itself. It must begin with **the method of reading**—specifically, a **dialectical reading** that understands phenomena **not in isolation**, but in

their historical and material context. A powerful illustration of this method is found in **Stalin's analysis** of ideological struggle within the proletarian party.

"Naturally," said Stalin, "with every turn in the development of the class struggle, with every sharpening of the struggle and intensification of difficulties, the **differences in the views, customs and sentiments** of the various strata of the proletariat must inevitably make themselves **felt in the shape of definite disagreements** within the party, and the **pressure of the bourgeoisie** and its ideology must inevitably accentuate these disagreements by providing them with an **outlet in the form of a struggle** within the proletarian party." *(Stalin, Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the ECCI)*

Stalin's observation **is not an expression of paranoia but a materialist fact:** a socialist state surrounded by hostile capitalism cannot be hermetically **sealed from bourgeois ideology**. The 'pressure of the bourgeoisie' will inevitably find expression within the party itself. This is the objective basis for ideological struggle, and the objective condition that capitalist states exploit through ideological warfare. Aside from the revisionists, so-called anti-revisionists cherry-pick Stalin's statement divorced from its entire context and from the Leninist context. Stalin said;

> "You speak of Sinified (Chinese) socialism. There is nothing of the sort in nature. There is no Russian, English, French, German, or Italian socialism, just as there is no Chinese socialism. **There is only one Marxist-Leninist socialism.**"

No one really spends time reading the entire paragraph and the continuation of his statement. Stalin continues the sentence;

> "It is **another thing** that in the **building of socialism it is necessary to take into consideration the specific features of a particular country.** Socialism is a science, necessarily having, like all science, certain general laws, and one just needs to ignore them and the building of socialism is destined to failure."

Stalin did not leave this principle abstract. In his article "Comment on Current Affairs: On China"—written precisely **to refute the Trotskyites** who were demanding that the Chinese revolution follow a rigid, preordained model—Stalin explained the first tactical principle of Leninism:

> "The **principle of the necessity of taking into account the national peculiarities** and **national characteristics of each country** while working out the guiding instructions of the Communist International for the working class movement of that country."

He then delivered a devastating critique of those who apply theory mechanically:

> "Notwithstanding the ideological growth of our Party, **unfortunately** there is still in our Party a certain type of 'leaders' **who sincerely believe that it is possible to direct the revolution in China,** so to speak, by telegraph on the basis of the known and universally recognized general principles of the Communist International **without taking into consideration the national peculiarities of Chinese** economy, Chinese political

> regime, Chinese culture**, Chinese customs and traditions**. These 'leaders' differ from the real leaders precisely in that **they always have in their pockets two or three ready-made formulae that are 'suitable' for all countries** and '**obligatory**' **in all conditions.** For them there is no question of taking into account the national character and national peculiarities of each country... **Our oppositionists belong precisely to this type of these miserable leaders**."

Stalin's warning is prophetic for our own time. The modern critics of China—**who denounce 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' as a deviation** while applying **abstract formulae to a country they have never studied in concrete detail**—are the **direct heirs of these 'miserable leaders**.' They believe they can **judge the Chinese revolution 'by telegraph,**' without understanding the conditions of a semi-feudal, semi-colonial nation of over half a billion people (at the time of the revolution) that foreign powers had carved up for a century.

Stalin concluded this warning with a strategic imperative that **most of his modern cri**tics conveniently ignore:

> "In order to smash these powerful enemies **it is necessary to have a flexible** and well-**considered policy** of the proletariat, **skill to take advantage of every crack in the enemy camp**, skill in **finding allies**."

This is not a call to abandon socialism; **it is a call to win by understanding the concrete terrain of struggle.** If one ignores this, Stalin warned, "**the building of socialism is destined to failure.**"

Stalin, after outlining the **"general laws of building socialism,"** states;

> "These, in short, are the **main laws of socialism** as a science, requiring that we relate to them as such. If you understand this, everything with the **building of socialism in China will be fine**." *Stalin, a meeting with a Chinese Communist Party delegation in 1949*

(I will come back to this in a later section in order to minimize redundancy.)

As is clear, unless one is subjective, **Stalin is not denying building socialism in China** based on China's conditions and character. This eclectic approach is nothing but biting into, and making a **habit of, revisionist and bourgeois liberal tactics** in the era of "ideological warfare," in which bourgeois states and institutions consciously carry them out.

4.3.2- From ideological struggle to ideological warfare

> "Ideological struggle is a struggle for the minds of the masses." *Mao, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*

Stalin's era marked a critical historical transformation. The internal "ideological struggle"—the debates between different Marxist tendencies over theory and tactics—was increasingly supplemented, and in many ways overshadowed, by a new phenomenon: "**ideological warfare.**" This was not merely a semantic shift but **a change in the nature of the conflict.**

"**The primary scope** of ideological struggle prior to Stalin's time was local, national, and theoretical, with a constant, ongoing

process of education and debate. **During Stalin's period**, internal 'ideological struggle' inevitably transformed into a worldwide 'ideological warfare' waged by external capitalist states. The presence of socialism made 'ideological warfare' campaigns more relevant for capitalist states." *Erdogan, From Ideological Struggle to Ideological Warfare: Historical Evolution*

The USSR meant the ideological contest was **no longer** just about winning arguments within workers' movements. It became a **direct, state-sponsored conflict** between two global systems. Capitalists, who own the means of production, also own the "**means of mental production**"—media, education, culture—and they deployed them as weapons of war.

The struggle against socialism and socialist ideology gradually became **an organized project** by external capitalist forces and their internal agents, aimed at its destruction and/or revision in ways acceptable to capitalists. **Ideological struggle** within the working class movements domestically transformed into ideological warfare against capitalist ideology internationally, a warfare between the progressive and reactionary world. The core idea in this warfare is **controlling information as a weapon to defeat the enemy.**

It's crucial to recognize that **internal ideological struggles** are often not **purely spontaneous** phenomena among intellectuals or parties, but f**requently influenced or directed by external manipulations**. Capitalists, with their immense power and control over the means of mental production, use sophisticated tools for misinformation like "fake news", psychological operations, framing tactics, and exploiting perceived weaknesses within any system against its interests.

The **dialectical method helps** identify these foreign roots while also critically examining **whether** certain internal features are temporary transitional phenomena or have become ossified structures that hinder socialist development and thus fulfill their own historical-materialist criteria for decay. However, **this is related to an internal affair of a given country.** *Erdogan, From Ideological struggle to ideological warfare historical evolution*

4.3.3- Identical accusations of 5th column during Stalin Era repeated now.

> "The truth is always concrete." *Lenin, The State and Revolution*

This historical evolution is not an artifact of the past. The tactics developed during Stalin's time are being repeated today, **skillfully conceale**d and amplified by vastly more sophisticated means of **mental production.** The accusations of "totalitarianism," "bureaucratic tyranny," and "imperialist ambitions" that were **once leveled against the USSR** are now systematically directed at China.

"The practice, in fact, is no different than the era of Stalin's Soviets and the Cold War era but is being carried out in a **skillfully concealed manner with years of experience and through the available means of mental production** controlled by the capitalists. Studying and **comparing the narratives used during the Stalin era** and the current era, we can easily see that the same tactics are being used against the socialist countries, countries with **socialist tendencies, and anti-imperialist** and anti-fascist struggles within countries." *Erdogan, From Ideological Struggle to Ideological Warfare: Historical Evolution*

This is not a coincidence. It is a repeatable pattern of ideological siege. The external narrative of "5th column" activity is a **direct product of the "ideological warfare"** waged by capitalist states. Its purpose is to **discredit the socialist system,** sow division within its ranks, and create internal pressure that serves external goals.

The purpose of the bourgeoisie, their 5th-column outlets, and their tactics are not different, but skillfully disguised.

4.3.4- What lied and still lies behind all the accusations **are anti-Leninist theories;** "socialism cannot be built in one country", "anti-imperialist struggles and wars are a thing of the past". This confirms the bourgeois ideological argument that **only under capitalist power can capitalist development succeed**. If the socialist country is developed **"then it is capitalist"**, "if the socialist country is **not developed**" then it is **because "socialism is not capable of it.** The specific accusations of "imperialism" against China are not isolated smears. They rest on a **deeper theoretical assault**: the revival of anti-Leninist theories supposedly settled decades ago.

If accepted, these two bourgeois theories would **disarm** the socialist movement completely. If socialism cannot be built in one country, then the existence of China, a socialist **state** that has survived and developed for over seven decades, is a **theoretical impossibility** that must be explained away. If **anti-imperialist struggles are obsolete,** then any resistance to US/NATO hegemony is by definition **illegitimate** or retrograde.

Stalin emphasized the Leninist approach and stance in a way that leaves no room for misunderstanding:

> "The revolutionary character of a national movement **under conditions of imperialist oppression** does not necessitate the presence of proletarian elements in the movement, **the existence of a revolutionary or republican program**, or th**e existence of a democratic basis**. The struggle **waged by the Emir of Afghanistan** for the independence of Afghanistan, despite the monarchist views of the Emir and his associates, is objectively **a revolutionary struggle,** because it weakens, shatters, **and undermines imperialism.**" *Stalin, The Foundations of Leninism*

In the same article, Stalin provided a clear **example** not to leave any room for misunderstanding or spinning the question;

> "For the same reasons, the struggle o**f Egyptian merchants** and bourgeois intellectuals for the independence of Egypt is objectively **a revolutionary struggle,** even though the leaders of the Egyptian national movement were of **bourgeois origin** and held bourgeois titles, and were **opposed to socialism**;
>
> However, **the struggle of** the British "Labor" Government to maintain Egypt's dependent status is, for the same reasons, **a reactionary struggle,** even though the members of the government are of proletarian origin and have the title of proletarian, and are "on the side" of socialism. *Stalin, The Foundations of Leninism)*

It is a straightforward stand: **under the conditions of imperialist oppression and aggression,** the struggle and **war of any country have an anti-imperialist** character, and thus

a **progressive one,** regardless of their **class essence,** programs, or the existence of a democratic basis.

This stand cannot be distorted by sophistry and demagogy regardless of how the petty-bourgeois sophists and philistines try to do so.

The skillful tactic they acquired and have been using is a **manipulative communication trick.**

4.3.5- The Bourgeois Kafkatrap *(circular argument)*: Confirming the Bourgeois Ideological Argument

> "The bourgeoisie is not interested in the truth... they need myths, legends, and distortions." *Lenin, various works*

This brings us to the central ideological trap, a perfect example of what can be called a "bourgeois Kafkatrap", and if you deny it, your denial is used as proof that you are guilty. The accusers construct a **closed system of logic** from which the socialist country cannot escape, confirming the bourgeois ideological argument that only under capitalist power can capitalist development be successful.

If China were poor and underdeveloped, the accusation would be: "See, socialism does not work." Now that China has **lifted hundreds of millions out of poverty** and achieved rapid technological and economic growth, the accusation flips: "See, **it must be capitalist, and therefore imperialist**."

This dual-bind is the **hallmark of bourgeois ideology**. It cannot conceive development **without exploitation because exploitation is the only historical experience of capitalism.** It cannot imagine a power that rises to global significance without seeking

to dominate, because **domination is the only language of imperialism.** Thus, the accusation against China is not a scientific observation; **it is a "confession" of the accuser's own ideological framework.**

Paraphrasing Lenin, "We must not confine ourselves to the 'old' truths, but must be **able to carry them further, apply them to the new conditions**—that is, we must be able to look at things **from the standpoint of the latest situation.** Revolutionary **theory must adapt to changing real-world conditions.** Sticking blindly to old ideas based on **old conditions** without considering **new facts will fail**. Leaders must study the current situation to make the right choices, because, as Marx put it, "theory becomes a **material force** when it seizes the masses." *Marx, Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*

4.4- Theoretical background

Concept	Marxist-Leninist Definition	Bourgeois Misconception
Class	Relationship to means of production	Income/wealth level
State	Organ of class rule	Neutral arbiter of society
Bureaucracy	Technical apparatus under party control	A "new ruling class"

Concept	Marxist-Leninist Definition	Bourgeois Misconception
Professional Revolutionary	Vanguard serving the collective	Power-hungry elite

4.4.1- What is a class

> "Classes are large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) **to the means of production**, by their role in the social organisation of labour, and, consequently, **by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose** and **the mode of acquiring it**. Classes are groups of people one of which can appropriate the labor of another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy." *Lenin, A Great Beginning*

Class is a fundamental economic relationship defined by ownership of the means of production. A class is a social group **defined by** its relationship to the means of production. As we all know, there are two fundamental class divisions: the bourgeoisie-the **capitalist class that owns the means of production** and the proletariat-the working class, who **own no means of production.** I will not dwell on petty bourgeois and lumpen proletariat. Various groups between the main classes are called **"strata"**;

lower, upper, middle, top. **Bureaucracy is defined as a strata**. Petty bourgeois makes up the "middle strata". Revisionists **invent** "new classes" to support their arguments. Paraphrasing Lenin, the "new" of communism, criticism of Marxism by these "new" is no less "new" than the "old" bourgeois revisionist and the general counter-revolutionary line.

4.4.2- What is a state and state capitalism

Relating to our subject, let's keep in mind that "The state is a product and a manifestation of the irreconcilability of **class antagonisms."** The state arises where, when, and insofar as class antagonism objectively cannot be reconciled. And, conversely, the existence of the state proves that the class antagonisms are irreconcilable"…it is not an **organ for the reconciliation of classes.** *Lenin, The State and Revolution*

"According to Marx, the **state is an organ of class rule,** an organ for the oppression of one class by another; it is the creation of "order", which legalizes and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the conflict between classes. In the opinion of the petty-bourgeois politicians, however, **order means the reconciliation of classes**, and not the oppression of one class by another." *Lenin, State and Revolution*

In order to form a socialist state and build socialist economy, first of all

> "the proletariat **needs state power,** the centralized organization of force, the organization of violence, both for the purpose of **crushing the resistance of the exploiters**, and for the purpose of leading the enormous mass of the population, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, and the

> semi-proletarians in the work of **organizing socialist economy**." *Lenin, State and Revolution*

In Marxist-Leninist terms, "**state capitalism**" is not a static category; it is a transitional instrument *(for feudal and semi feudal underdeveloped countries)*. **Its class character** and ultimate trajectory depend entirely on **which class holds state power.**

State capitalism nationalizes strategic sectors, subordinates private capital to state planning, develops productive forces in backward agrarian countries, and creates the material conditions for **constructing socialism**.

So, while a dogmatic person might call China "state capitalist" as an insult, a true Marxist-Leninist recognizes that **state capitalism is not a final destination**; it is a temporary ladder. Whether that ladder is used to climb **upward toward socialism** (USSR-NK-Cuba-China-Vietnam) or to descend **downward into fascist** imperialism (Nazi Germany, Italy, Japan) **depends entirely on the political superstructure**, i.e., the leadership, **the party,** and the **class nature of the state apparatus**.

For our next brief subject, Lenin puts it nicely:

> "Some began to say that the working masses themselves have not yet advanced the broad and militant political tasks which the revolutionaries are attempting to "impose" on them…Others, far removed from any theory of "gradualness", said that it is possible and necessary to "bring about a political revolution", but that **this does not require building a strong organisation of revolutionaries** to train the proletariat in steadfast and stubborn

> struggle. **All we need do is to snatch up our old friend, the "accessible" cudgel**.

Both these tendencies, the opportunist and the "revolutionary," bow to the prevailing primitiveness; …neither understand our primary and most imperative practical task, namely, **to establish an organization of revolutionists** capable of maintaining energy, the stability and **continuity of the political struggle.** *Lenin, What is to be done*

4.4.3- Workers (Socialist, communist) Party – "a new *(privileged)* class?"

> "The communists do not form a separate party opposed to the other working-class parties... they have no interests, separate and apart from the proletariat as a whole... they fight for the immediate goals of the working class, but within the current movement, they also represent and **secure the future of this movement**." *Marx & Engels, The Communist Manifesto*

The party is a vanguard, a professional organization of revolutionaries.

The **bourgeois argument** is deceptively simple: "Party leaders have **access** to wealth and power; therefore they are **a** '**new class**'."

Bourgeois Claims that **CCP Leaders have "billions in assets.**" The claim that Chinese party leaders possess billions in personal assets **is not a factual assertion**; it is an ideological weapon. It **relies on the bourgeois presupposition** that all politicians **are corrupt**, that all power is self-serving, and that **collective**

ownership is impossible. The bourgeois media routinely publishes "**investigations**" that rely on anonymous sources. But **where is the evidence?** Unverified documents and "estimates" based on s**peculative methodologies**. If these claims were true, they **would have provided verifiable evidence**. Why do these 'investigations' never produce bank statements, property deeds, or legal documents? They rely on gossip **because they cannot rely on facts.** Bourgeoisie and 5th column "socialists" **produce narratives,** not evidence, which is the **projection of capitalist cynicism onto a socialist system**. They claim that the party **leaders are "privileged"** like the ruling **class**. However, **access to collective assets** is not the same as **private ownership**. The leaders serve the state, **not themselves.**

Under socialism, leaders are **professional revolutionaries**; their "privilege" is access to state resources in service of the people, **not for personal enrichment.** The system is not a **fake democracy** where leaders come and go every 4–5 years, accumulating personal wealth**. It is a lifetime profession of service**, with accountability to the party and the people.

4.4.4- Professional Revolutionaries

> "The worker-revolutionary, in order to be fully prepared for his task, must likewise be a professional revolutionary." *Lenin, What Is to Be Done?*

The professional revolutionaries do not make up **a** '**new class**'. It is a **historical category** that has existed for over a century. From Lenin to Stalin, Enver Hoxha to Mao, socialist leaders have **consistently lived modestly, without accumulating personal wealth**. Their '**privilege**' is not private property.

The professional revolutionary does not need to accumulate personal assets because the state provides for their needs. Their 'privilege' is access to collective resources—planes, ships, finance, estates—all of which are used in the service of the people, **not for personal enrichment**. This is **not a "'new class"'**—it is the **very definition of proletarian state power.** Historical examples demonstrate that the **professional revolutionary is a real historical category—not a bourgeois myth**.

According to bourgeois and revisionists, the **concept of "professional" is a myth** due to "human Nature".

4.4.5- "Human Nature" question.

> "The human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality, it is the ensemble of social relations." *Marx, Theses on Feuerbach, Thesis VI*

Is human nature fixed, inherent, universal, and thus **greed and individualism are "natural**.?

The bourgeois claim that **human nature is fixed and inherently individualistic** is not a scientific statement; **it is an ideological justification for capitalism**. Marx showed that human nature is the **ensemble of social relations**. An environment rooted in collectivism, socialist education, and material conditions will produce a **different human nature** than that of the West. This is not a deviation from Marxism; it is **materialism applied to concrete reality**.

Marxism holds that the **essence of human beings** is "the ensemble of social relations," not an abstract, **eternal "selfish nature.**" The historical practice of generations of revolutionaries itself

powerfully refutes such abstract theories of human nature. So **for Bourgeois** (Idealist)**, human nature is fixed, inherent, and universal**. Greed and individualism are "natural." Socialism is "against human nature." **For Marxists** (Materialists), **material conditions, culture, and social relations shape human nature**. Capitalist social relations **produce greed** and individualism. **Socialism transforms human nature** by changing the conditions that produce greed and individualism.

As a case study; In contrast to “individualistic, personal greed” based education in the capitalist states, China, , since the 2010s, has systematically embedded (like North Korea) **collectivist, socialist**, and anti-individualist doctrines into its compulsory education system (Grades 1–9) to actively shape what it terms "socialist builders and successors. The 24-character **Core Socialist Values**, promulgated by the CCP Central Committee in 2013. These are divided into three levels:

- **National level**: Prosperity, Democracy, Civility, Harmony.
- **Social level**: Freedom, Equality, Justice, Rule of Law.
- **Individual level**: Patriotism, Dedication, Integrity, Friendship.

The *individual level* is explicitly taught **not as innate rights**, but as duties **toward the collective**. Textbooks and classroom posters frame "Freedom" as contingent on "Harmony," and "Friendship" as service to the social body, directly countering the bourgeois notion of self-interest.

Since the 2017 curriculum reform (updated in 2022), the

mandatory course Morality and Law (taught 2–3 hours per week from Grade 1) explicitly states in its curriculum standard that its goal is to "**cultivate students' sense of collective responsibility**" and "**guide them** to correctly handle the **relationship between individuals, the collective, and the state.**"

Grade 2 textbooks include units on "**Our Community**" and "**We are a Collective,**" teaching that personal desires must **yield** to group decisions.

Grade 5 textbooks introduce "**The Public Life of the Collective**," explicitly **defining "individualism" as a negative trait** that harms social solidarity.

The "Five Loves": All children aged 6–14 are encouraged to join the Young Pioneers. Its official constitution states its purpose is to "**educate children to love the motherland, the people, labor, science, and socialism".**

To directly operationalize the Marxist premise that "environment shapes consciousness," the Ministry of Education issued a mandatory guideline in March 2020 **requiring all primary and secondary schools** to offer at least **1 hour of labor education per week**. The official rationale states this is to "**prevent students from developing the bad habit of loving ease and hating labor**" and to "**cultivate a collectivist spirit.**" Activities include group cleaning, communal farming on school grounds, and factory visits, all framed pedagogically as a material **counter to capitalist greed and individualistic ambition**.

Beyond textbooks, the MOE and the Central Committee have integrated "**red resources**" (revolutionary sites, museums, memorials) into the **formal curriculum**. Since 2021, the MOE has

mandated that primary schools organize at least 1–2 field trips per semester to such sites, **accompanied by pre- and post-visit essays** that must reflect on "sacrificing personal interest for national rejuvenation." This is a deliberate **environmental intervention to overwrite** what official documents call the "**corrosive influence of Western money-worship and extreme egoism**.

The curriculum is deliberately designed to produce a "**collectivist human nature**" in the civic and political spheres, even as it teaches technical and economic skills pragmatically, despite the coexistence with a market economy that rewards **individual entrepreneurial ambition in daily life**.

The bourgeois narrative of "**inherent human nature" is itself a product of capitalism**, which is a necessary ideology for justifying exploitation by **universalizing greed and individualism**, thereby naturalizing its own contradictions.

4.4.6- Bureaucracy as an apparatus vs Bureaucracy as a class

> "Bureaucracy is an instrument of the bourgeoisie in the hands of the proletariat—so long as the proletariat holds power." *Lenin, various works*

Aspect	Bureaucracy as Apparatus	Bureaucracy as Class (Bourgeois Myth)
Ownership of Means of Production	None; administers on behalf of the ruling class	Claims to own or control the means of production

Aspect	Bureaucracy as Apparatus	Bureaucracy as Class (Bourgeois Myth)
Source of Power	Delegated by the ruling class (proletariat or bourgeoisie)	Self-generated through control of the state
Purpose	Implements policy; coordinates production and distribution	Serves its own interests; extracts surplus
Character	Technical and administrative	Political and exploitative
Under Socialism	Withers away with the state under communism	Perpetuates itself as a permanent ruling stratum

Bureaucracy is not a class in the Marxist sense. It does not create value itself. Its function is not productive labor in the sense of **generating surplus valu**e through the production of commodities. Rather, bureaucracy **controls the coordination**, distribution, and consumption of the value created in the production process, and its continuation through the social reproduction of labor and capital.

In other words, the bureaucracy prepares and implements the laws and regulations governing production relations, but it does so **in the interests of one class or another**, depending on the **class character of the state** it serves.

Under capitalism, bureaucracy serves the bourgeoisie: it enforces property relations, regulates labor discipline, and administers the legal framework that protects private ownership of the means of production. Under socialism, bureaucracy serves the proletariat: it administers state-owned enterprises, allocates resources according to plan, and ensures that production serves the needs of the people, **not the accumulation of private capital.**

The class character of bureaucracy is determined entirely **by which class holds state power**. To argue that bureaucracy constitutes a "new class" is **to confuse** the function of administration with the ownership of the means of production—a fundamental category error that abandons the materialist basis of class analysis for subjective idealism.

The bourgeois critique of socialist bureaucracy rests on a category error: it confuses an **apparatus with a class**. Lenin was explicit: **bureaucracy is an instrument for policy, not a policy for the apparatus.** China's bureaucracy remains subordinate to the party, which remains subordinate to the proletariat. **It is not a** '**new class**', it is a **transitional institution** that will **wither away** when the conditions for its existence have been abolished.

Lenin puts this fact bluntly by saying that;

> "The **economic foundations** for the withering away of the state": in this case we also have the **"economic foundations" for the withering away of bureaucracy,**" *Lenin, Plan of The Pamphlet, The Tax in Kind*

The **withering away of the state** is a long-term process that depends on abolishing classes, developing productive forces, and transforming consciousness. China is in the socialist stage; the

state apparatus is still necessary to suppress counter-revolutionary forces and **organize socialist construction**. (There is no claim in China that **socialism is constructed**)

The bourgeois and revisionist narrative deliberately conflate "**bureaucracy" with "class" to delegitimize socialist states**.

Bourgeois and revisionists claim that the **party becomes a new ruling class**, bureaucrats serve their own interests, and the bureaucracy will perpetuate itself. **Marxist-Leninist Reality** is that **the party is a vanguard**, a **professional organization of revolutionaries.** Bureaucracy is a technical **apparatus for implementing party policy.** It serves the interests of the proletariat, and the bureaucracy will wither away with the state apparatus under communism.

Based on Lenin's distinction: **China's bureaucracy remains an apparatus**. It is subject to party discipline, mass supervision, and the ultimate goal of socialist construction. The bourgeois claim that it has become a "new class" is not a materialist analysis—**it is an ideological projection.**

Privileges are a temporary phenomenon under conditions of scarcity and socialist construction. They **do not constitute ownership of the means of production**, which is the **defining feature of a class.**

This establishes that the **state apparatus—including bureaucracy is a tool of the proletariat, not a class unto itself.**

4.4.7-Party leadership in contrast with Bourgeois Democracy: incentives for corruptions

> "Without a party of iron, hardened and tempered in struggle, it is impossible to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat." *Stalin, Foundations of Leninism*

In bourgeois democracies, leaders are incentivized **to accumulate** as much personal wealth as possible before leaving office—because they know **their time is limited**. In a socialist state, **leaders are professional revolutionaries** who serve for life, and do not need to accumulate personal assets because the collective assets of the state are at their disposal—but only in service of the people. This is not a 'new class', it is the very **opposite of bourgeois corruption.**"

Bourgeois Democracy leaders come and go every 4–5 years. Leaders accumulate personal wealth before leaving. Corruption is structural. The **state serves the bourgeoisie**. Socialist State leaders **serve for life,** accountable to the party and the people. **Corruption is severely punished**; the system is designed to prevent personal enrichment, to serve the collective interests of the laboring masses.

4.4.8- What is socialism

> "The dictatorship of the proletariat is **a state** which is organized to suppress the resistance of the exploiting classes." *Lenin, The State and Revolution*

There is a difference between **"socialism" as a political power - socialist state** and "**constructing socialism-carrying socialism to everyday life"** through economic and social developments. Once the Communist Party acquires political power and builds its dictatorship, **it is a socialist state regardless of the degree of its economic and social development, which takes different**

paths, back and forward steps depending on its own conditions and historical characteristics. Lenin has more than once pointed out that the transition from capitalism to Socialism, taken on a world scale, shows **"a diversity of forms** of democracy and forms of transition from capitalism to Socialism."

As the Qualitative Criteria of Socialism, Marxism-Leninism defines socialism **not by the "presence or absence" of markets or private property,** or **by the degree of socialist economic development,** but by the **"class character of the state".** The key criterion is: "**Who holds political power**?" As Lenin stated:

> "The **transition from capitalism to Socialism** will certainly create a **great variety and abundance of political forms**, but their **essence** will inevitably be the same: the dictatorship of the proletariat." *Lenin, The State and Revolution*

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the forcible coercion of the exploiters, but **the forms** of this coercion can and will inevitably be different.

> "The necessary earmark, the **essential condition of dictatorship**, is the forcible suppression of the exploiters as a class." *(Lenin, The Proletarian Revolution, and the Renegade Kautsky.*

It is on the one hand, the distinctive features of the internal development in a country, the correlation of class forces and the **intensity of class conflicts** in the country, and on the other the distinctive features of the **international situation** which, above all, **determine the forms, methods, and the scale of the violence** of the proletariat against the exploiters.

> "But the **essence of the proletarian dictatorship** does not lie in force alone, or even mainly in force. Its quintessence is the organization and discipline of the advanced detachment of the working people, of their vanguard, **their sole leader**, the proletariat, whose **object is to build Socialism**, to abolish the division of society into classes, **to make all members of society working people**, to remove the basis for any kind of exploitation of man by man." *Lenin, A Great Beginning*

"The dictatorship of the proletariat," says Lenin, "is a special form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the toilers, and the **numerous non-proletarian strata of toilers** (the petty bourgeoisie, the small proprietors, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, etc.) or the majority of these; **it is an alliance against capital**, an **alliance aiming** at the **complete** overthrow of capital, at the **complete** suppression of the resistance of the bourgeoisie and of any attempt on its part at restoration, **an alliance aiming at the final establishment and consolidation of Socialism.**" *(Lenin, quoted by Stalin, Problems of Leninism)*

> "Thus, on the whole, we have a formally non-Communist, flexible and relatively wide and very powerful proletarian apparatus by means of which the **Party is closely linked up with the class** and with the masses, and by means of which, **under the leadership of the Party, the dictatorship of the class is exercised**." *Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism,*

In developing this concept of Lenin, Stalin said:

> "Leadership is ensured by the method of persuading the masses, as the principal method by which the Party influences the masses. This, however, does not preclude, but presupposes, the use of coercion, **if such coercion is based on the confidence and support of the majority of the working class for the Party** if it is applied to the minority after the Party has convinced the majority." (Stalin, Ibid.)

In his work, On the Foundations of Leninism, Stalin generalizes and develops the Leninist characterizations of Soviet power. He lays down the following as its distinctive and characteristic features:

> " the Soviet power has a **most pronounced mass character** and is the most democratic State organisation of all possible State organisations **while classes continue to exist**; it is the arena of the bond between the working class and the peasantry directed against the exploiters, and basing itself on this union, the **Soviet power is the power of the majority of the population over the minority,** "it is **the State of the majority**, the expression of its dictatorship." *Stalin, On the Foundations of Leninism*

So, Socialism is defined by:

1. **The Dictatorship of the Proletariat:** Political power is held by the working class, led by its vanguard party.

2. **Public Ownership of the Means of Production**: The decisive industries of the economy are owned and controlled by the state, which represents the proletariat.

3. **The Planned Development of Productive Forces:** The economy is directed toward meeting the needs of the people, **not the accumulation of capital.**

Here now, we can go back to Stalin's quote on China and his explanation;

What are these **general laws of <u>building socialism</u>**?

1. **Above all, it is the dictatorship of the proletariat, the workers' and peasants' State**, a particular form of the union of these classes under the obligatory leadership of the most revolutionary class in history, the class of workers. Only this class can build socialism and suppress the resistance of the exploiters and petty bourgeoisie.

2. **Socialized property of the main instruments and means of production.** Expropriation of all the large factories and their management by the state.

3. **Nationalization of all capitalist banks**, the merging of all of them into a single state bank and strict **regulation of its functioning by the state.**

4. The **scientific and planned conduct of the national economy from a single center.** Obligatory use of the following principle in the **building of socialism**: **from each according to his capacity**, **to each according to his work,** distribution of the material goods depending upon the quality and quantity of the work of each person.

5. **Obligatory domination of Marxist-Leninist ideology**.

6. **Creation of armed forces that would allow the defense of the accomplishments** of the revolution and always remember that any revolution is worth anything only if it is capable of defending itself.

7. **Ruthless armed suppression of counter-revolutionaries** and the foreign agents.

These, in short, **are the main laws of socialism as a science**, requiring that we relate to them as such.

Repeating to remind the "context" of his words that followed the **necessity to consider each country's conditions** and his relevant words to Chinese Communists;

> "If you understand this, everything with the building of **socialism in China will be fine.** If you won't, you will do great harm to the international communist movement. As far as I know in the CPC there is a thin layer of the proletariat and the nationalist sentiments are very strong, and if you will not conduct genuinely Marxist-Leninist class policies and **not conduct struggle against bourgeois nationalism**, the nationalists will strangle you. " *Stalin; From the Conversation with the Delegation of the CC CP of China in Moscow*

It is important to note that, aside from the mentioned eclectic quote, the text is usually published in summary form. In his full conversation, Stalin states;

> Due to the **conceit of the leaders of the revolutionary movement in Western Europe**, after the death of Marx and Engels, the social-democratic movement in the West

fell behind in its development. **The center of the revolution in the West shifted to the East,** and now **it has moved to China and East Asia.**

I say that you already **play an important role**, and you certainly should not become conceited. At the same time, I would argue that the **responsibility entrusted to you rises highe**r. You must fulfill your duty to the revolution in East Asia.

Perhaps, on the **general questions of the theory of Marxism**, we Soviet people are stronger than you. **However,** if we talk about the **application of Marxist principles in practice**, then **you have such a great experience that we should learn from you**. In the past, we learned a lot from you.

One nation should learn from the other. Let it be a small nation – it still has a lot to teach us." *Stalin; From the Conversation with the Delegation of the CC CP of China in Moscow*

So, this **widely used quote from Stalin does not defy or condemn the Chinese Communist Party;** it stresses that "there is only one socialism," **built according to each country's conditions** but in accordance with the fundamental laws summarized above.

Beyond cherry-picked quotes, gossip, and subjective narratives, most argue that **wage differences** and a "market economy" indicate a capitalist society. We should briefly touch on those subjects.

4.4.9- Socialism vs. Communism- the distinction consciously overlooked. Difference between socialist society and communist society

> "What is usually called socialism is what Marx called the 'first' or lower phase of communist society." *Lenin, The State and Revolution*
>
> "In the first phase of communist society (socialism), the principle of 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work' applies." *Marx, Critique of the Gotha Program*

We must now address the persistent accusation that "**socialism cannot have private capita**l", **"there cannot be huge differences between the salaries**", etc. This accusation rests on a **deliberate confusion between the two phases of communist society.** The accusers conflate the necessary persistence of bourgeois right under socialism with capitalism itself.

Stalin noted as one of the conditions in the above-mentioned article,

> "Obligatory use of the following principle in the building of socialism: **from each according to his capacity**, **to each according to his work,** distribution of the material goods depending upon the **quality and quantity** of the work of each person."

Socialism and communism are often used interchangeably in some settings, and thus are **oftentimes confused.** Lenin had foreseen this danger and pointed out in his speech;

"We have actually been using the adjective "communist" very frequently, so frequently that we have even included it in the name of our Party. But when you give this matter some thought, you arrive at the idea that together with the good that has followed from this, **a certain danger for us may have been created**." *Lenin, Report on Subbotniks*

Lenin specifically warns on the subject of the use of the term and says: `

"**the scientific distinction between socialism and communism is clear**…. "communism" is applicable and acceptable providing **we do not forget that this is not** complete communism, "- **communist society**…. "in the **first phase** of communist society (which is **usually called socialism)**. *Lenin, The State and Revolution*

Characteristic of both phases of communist society is the **absence of exploiting classes** and of the exploitation of man by man, of national and racial oppression. The **purpose of production**, in both societies, is the maximum satisfaction of material and cultural requirements of the **whole society.**

Stalin in his speech at the 16th Congress states;

"**We are for the withering away of the State** *(transition to communism EA)*. And **yet we also believe in the proletarian dictatorship,** which represents the strongest and mightiest form of State power that has existed up to now. To keep on developing State power **in order to prepare the conditions** for the **withering away** of State power – that is the Marxist formula. It is 'contradictory'? Yes, 'contradictory.' But the **contradiction is vital,** and wholly **reflects Marxian dialectic...**

> "**Whoever has not understood this feature** of the contradictions belonging to our **transitional time**, whoever has not understood this dialectic of historical processes, **that person is DEAD to Marxism."** *Stalin, speech at the 16th Congress states*

As far as the "wage " differences are concerned, in socialist society it is **"incentive labor"**, **"according to one's ability"**, that only transforms in communist society to **"voluntary labor"** and **"according to one's need"**.

The easiest victims of bourgeois and revisionist narratives and pontifications are those who lack of knowledge and are lazy in researching and reading, with the assumption that "they already know everything and they don't have to read," whom Lenin called the "**worse kind of communists**".

Let's study and compare the Soviet NEP and China's EP.

4.5 - The Economic Transition – NEP vs. China's "Socialist Market Economy"

> "It is necessary to analyze each particular case from the standpoint of its concrete conditions, without being limited by abstract definitions." *Lenin, Once Again on the Trade Unions*

To understand China's contemporary economic policy, we must first understand the **Leninist tradition it continues**. The New Economic Policy (NEP), introduced by Lenin in 1921, was a **strategic retreat** from the strict command economy of "War Communism". NEP was often interpreted as a **return to capitalism**. It was **not a surrender to capitalism but a calculated**

maneuver to rebuild the productive forces of a devastated Soviet state. The NEP allowed for: **limited** private trade in agriculture and consumer goods, small-scale private enterprises in manufacturing and services, **foreign concessions** to attract technology and investment. **All under state control,** called "state capitalism, " where large-scale industry, banks, transport, and foreign trade **remained** firmly in the hands of the proletarian state.

4.5.1- The Leninist Precedent: What Was the NEP?

> "The New Economic Policy is a special policy of the proletarian state, which guarantees the building of the socialist economic foundations." *Lenin, various works on NEP*

The NEP (1921–1928) replaced War Communism with a mixed economy by allowing private trade, small-scale private industry, and foreign concessions, while the state retained control of the large-scale industry, banking, transport, and foreign trade. **Lenin called this "state capitalism"** under proletarian control, precisely to r**esurrect productive forces** devastated by civil war.

"We are revolutionaries, we don't understand business"

In his political report to the 11th Congress of the RCP(b) on March 27, 1922, Lenin sharply criticized the practice of placing **loyal but inexperienced communists** in leadership positions in commerce and industry:

> "We need to structure our entire organization so that the head of a commercial enterprise is not one of us who **lacks experience** in this field. ... We often put a

> communist—an undoubtedly honest man, tested in the communist struggle, who has been in prison—at the head of an institution, but this man cannot do business, and therefore he is placed at the head of a state trust. As a communist, he possesses all the indisputable advantages. However, the merchant will still cheat him—and he will be right to do so, because the best and most loyal communist has been put in a position where what is needed is a shrewd, conscientious shop assistant. The shop assistant will do the job better than the most loyal communist. ... How many communists do we have sitting in state institutions? We have a vast amount of material, solid works that would delight the most meticulous German, but what is the result? ... **We do not know how to do business!**" *Lenin, report to the 11th Congress of the RCP(b)*

In simple terms, Lenin was saying that **revolutionaries understand revolution and struggle, but they do not understand commercial operations.** Therefore, they must borrow the expertise of those who do, whether they are domestic "**bourgeois specialists**" or foreign capitalists and technicians. It is obvious for ML that that applies to the conditions of Russia and similar countries then and now, especially to those colonies and ex-colonies where feudalism is dominant.

Regarding concessions in resource development to foreign capital, Lenin explicitly stated in his report on the concession system to the 8th All-Russian Congress of Soviets on December 21, 1920:

> "**We give him [the foreign capitalist] 50%–75% of the oil.**"

In another passage, Lenin elaborated more systematically on this line of thinking:

> "We have a million dessiatines of **virgin land that we are unable to cultivate** because we have no draft animals and no necessary implements, whereas with tractors this land could be plowed to any depth. Therefore, **it is profitable for us to lease out this land. Even if we give away half, or even three-quarters**, of the product, it does not matter to us—the main thing is not that..."

Lenin's logic was that it was better to let foreign capital **develop idle resources**, even if it meant giving up most of the output, because acquiring technology, equipment, and the opportunity to learn was **far more important.**

a)- War on another plane

In a recorded speech on April 25, 1921, Lenin systematically explained the meaning of concessions:

> "The Soviet government invites foreign capitalists who wish to obtain concessions in Russia. What is a concession? **It is a contract between the state and the capitalist**, under which the capitalist undertakes to establish or improve production (for example, timber felling and floating, coal, oil, ore extraction, etc.), paying the state a portion of the extracted product in return, while keeping another portion as profit."
>
> "The Soviet government drove out the Russian landlords and capitalists, and now it invites foreign capitalists—is this right? Yes, it is, because if the workers' revolution in

> other countries is delayed, we will have to make certain sacrifices, solely to rapidly -even immediately -**improve the condition of the workers and peasants.**" *Lenin, "On the Concession System and the Development of Capitalism,"*

In 1920, Bukharin published an article in issue No. 4 of the journal "Communist Revolution", systematically expounding the **strategic significance** of the concession system:

> "Through concessions, we allow individual foreign capitalists to make profits, but we weaken world capital as a whole, because in our struggle against it, **we strengthen Russia** by additionally acquiring technical equipment, and thus we change the balance of forces—this is the significance of the concession system (in the economic sense) in the great struggle between socialism and capitalism."

"For the sake of the current profit, the 'mess of pottage' (meaning the products manufactured in Russia and exported abroad that the capitalists need)—the **capitalists sell out and betray the common interests of international capital**, which, in its own interests, should have been a strict and merciless blockade, that is, completely cutting off Russia from the sources that accelerate its technological renewal and revival."

Bukharin's argument was that " **concessions are not a capitulation to capitalism,** but a form of **warfare**; using economic interests to divide international capital, inducing individual capitalists **to betray the blockade strategy** of the international bourgeoisie as a whole for the sake of immediate profits.

b)- Paying "tuition fees" to Foreign Capital and "Learning to Do Business"

In his book “Private Capital in the Soviet Union”, Yuri Larin analyzed the necessity of introducing foreign and private capital from another perspective:

> "It is well known that we established the New Economic Policy (NEP) with both external and internal considerations in mind. Admittedly, the external considerations (the possibility of an influx of foreign capital to boost our economy) have so far not yielded many results (although the results are gradually increasing). But **the internal considerations have fully justified themselves.**"

Larin further pointed out that the core reason for introducing private capital was not **a lack of money, but a lack of skills:**

> "Allowing [private capital] was inevitable, not so much because we lacked the funds to launch state commodity circulation, but because we did not know how to implement such commodity circulation within the framework of a market economy. ...' **We don't know how to do business**'—this is what Comrade Semkov said to Comrade Lenin at the Moscow Provincial Party Conference in 1921."

"What the bourgeoisie brought was not capital, but the **ability to operate within market economic relations,** and we were forced to hand over our commodity funds and money to them. Production (industry) remained in our hands... but the market linkages between different parts of the economy (and often between different state-owned enterprises) fell into the hands of the bourgeoisie. For this, they naturally rewarded themselves handsomely, and **for us, this was 'paying tuition fees'.**"

Larin's exposition clearly articulates the core logic of introducing foreign and private capital during the NEP period: **it was not a shortage of capital, but a shortage of the ability** to "do business".

c)- Scale of Foreign Investment

On November **23, 1920,** the Council of People's Commissars promulgated the "Decree on the General Economic and Legal Conditions for Concessions", which explicitly aimed to attract foreign capital for "the accelerated restoration of the large-scale state economy." The **government guaranteed** that concessionaires' property would not be nationalized, confiscated, or requisitioned.

During the Soviet period, **over 350 foreign concession enterprises** (both industrial and commercial) operated. By the end of the 1920s, only 59 concession enterprises, 6 joint-stock companies, and 27 "operating permits" remained. 1- *(See note for details)*

After 1928, the Soviet government shifted toward signing **individual technical assistance** contracts with Western firms and hiring foreign specialists. On **December 27, 1930,** the Council of People's Commissars passed a resolution **terminating all concession contracts** (with a few exceptions). **By 1933, all industrial concessions had been liquidated.**

d) NEP & State capitalism

> "We are not afraid of state capitalism in a country where the dictatorship of the proletariat is preserved." *Lenin, various works*

Lenin was explicit about his strategy. He argued that **state capitalism under the dictatorship of the proletariat** was a necessary stage to **overcome the backwardness** of the Russian economy *(one has to consider the Chinese economy then with a population of 800 million)*. The **purpose was not to restore capitalism** but to strengthen the socialist state **by utilizing capitalist methods.**

> "State capitalism would be a step forward compared with the present state of affairs in our country. **If we had state capitalism** in Russia, the transition to full s**ocialism would be easie**r and more assured." — *V.I. Lenin, "The Tax in Kind"*

Unlike the common perception, Mao's belief that "**political capital,"** the economic capital of the bourgeoisie, **should not be subject to total expropriation**, at least until it can serve the development of the national economy, is **not contradictory to Lenin's approach** and precautions.

In October 1920 Lenin declared,

> "We want to transform Russia from a poor and needy country to a rich country". *Lenin, The Tasks of the Youth Associations*

In his 1928 speech, **Stalin** explicitly argued that in a **transitional socialist state, developing capitalism under strict state control is not a betrayal of socialism but a necessary detour to <u>build the industrial base</u> that socialism requires.** He famously said that a certain development of capitalism is **inevitable in a country emerging from feudalism,** and that

> "whoever does not understand this **understands nothing about Marxism**." Stalin, *On the Right Deviation and his comments on Comrade Yurov*

The **NEP was a dialectical solution** for the proletarian state: using the tools of capital to defeat capital's influence and **create the material conditions for socialism**. It was a tactical retreat that allowed for limited private trade, small-scale capitalism, and foreign concessions to rebuild the productive forces destroyed by civil war and war communism. NEP was an essential tool to **overcome the mass poverty and starvation t**hat followed the catastrophe of World War I and the civil war.

The NEP had nothing to do with restoring bourgeois and capitalist power; it was a tool to rebuild the economy and develop productive forces. In March and April 1918 Lenin stated that

> "compared to workers in the most advanced nations, the Russian is a bad worker"; therefore, he must "learn to work," assimilating critically the "rich scientific achievements" of the "Taylor system" developed and implemented in the North American Republic. *Lenin "The Immediate Tasks of Soviet Power"*

Stalin made a similar statement:

> "If they really wanted to be at the height of "principles of Leninism," they should try to weave "Russian revolutionary impulses" with **"the practical American approach"** *(Stalin, The Foundations of Leninism)*

The debate, considering the differences in conditions in each country, should be: "Lenin utilized state capitalism under the

dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviets; whether China's contemporary policy is a continuation of this Leninist tradition or a departure from it?"

e) China comparison

The Chinese Communist Party, which seized national power **in 1949**, had already begun exercising power in one region or another **since the 1920s**. That's why China, in general, was characterized from the start by the **coexistence of different forms of economy**. As early as January 1940, Mao Zedong clarified the meaning of the revolution taking place at that time:

> Although such a revolution in a colonial and semi-colonial country is still **fundamentally bourgeois-democratic in its social character** during its first stage or first step, and although its objective mission is **to clear the path for the development of capitalism,** it is no longer a revolution of the old type led by the bourgeoisie **with the aim of establishing a capitalist society** and a state under bourgeois dictatorship. It belongs to the **new type of revolution** led by the proletariat **with the aim,** in the first stage of establishing a **new-democratic society** and a **state under the joint dictatorship of** all the revolutionary classes. Thus this revolution actually **serves the purpose of clearing** a still wider path for the development of socialism." *Mao, On the New Democracy*

China's Reform and Opening-up, starting in 1978 with the slogan "that **poverty is not socialism, that socialism means eliminating poverty,**" operated on an identical theoretical logic: dismantling the **ultra-centralized Soviet-style wartime command**

economy, allowing township-village enterprises, private firms, and massive foreign direct investment, while keeping the banking, energy, telecom, defense, and infrastructure firmly under state/public ownership. In both cases, the **Party/State retained ultimate political control**. The **bourgeoisie is not allowed to form an independent political party** or take over the state apparatus. **Capital is strictly subordinated** to political directives: industrial policy, five-year plans, poverty alleviation, technological self-reliance.

However, the reaction was not so much different than that against the Soviet NEP. Lenin in the "Political Report" sarcastically wrote:

> "Seeing that we were withdrawing, some of them scattered, childishly and shamefully, even with tears, as happened at the last large session of the Executive Committee of the International Communist Party. **Motivated by the best communist sentiments** and the most ardent communist aspirations, **some friends burst into tears**." *Lenin, "Political Report" Lenin presented to the XI Congress of the Communist Party, March 27, 1922*

Both the Soviet and Chinese economic reforms were preceded by widespread poverty and shortages that could have caused large-scale starvation. For both, total political expropriation of the bourgeoisie did not equal total economic expropriation

e)- How China's EP Differs from the NEP

> "Politics cannot but have precedence over economics." *Lenin, various works*

China's practice as an ex-colony is expected to differ significantly from early Soviet policy.

Where do the scale and context differ? It differs in duration **and scope:** The **NEP lasted** only about 7 years and was relatively small in scale. However, it continued under a different name (the First Five-Year Plan) and form during Stalin's time, when full agricultural collectivization took over, and **by 1931, entire foreign concessions** were terminated. **China's EP has lasted** over 40 years and integrated a colossal population into global capitalism. This makes the contradictions of capital, unequal distribution, regional disparities, environmental degradation, and commodification of social life much more pronounced and harder to manage than during the NEP. The **NEP operated in a largely isolated global system.** China's reforms occurred **during** the peak of neoliberal globalization, meaning **Chinese state capital now interacts with, and has to compete against**, the most advanced finance capital in the world. This creates intense pressure that occasionally **blurs the lines**, but it has not changed the **state's fundamental <u>class ownership.</u>**

The NEP was designed for a devastated, isolated agrarian state with a small industrial base. China's contemporary economic policy operates on a **vastly different scale:** a globally integrated, **technologically advanced** economy that interacts with the world capitalist system in ways Lenin could not have anticipated. However, the "principle" remains identical: "**the political power** of the proletarian state subordinates the **economic power of capital**. The **difference is one of degree**, not of kind.

The Soviet Union initially confiscated all foreign investment; China initially maintained and utilized it, gradually replacing it

through denationalization. Chinese leaders more directly inherited Lenin's ideas on utilizing foreign investment and capitalism from the "New Economic Policy." When explaining joint ventures in 1950, Mao Zedong explicitly cited the fact that "Lenin also proposed and some concessional enterprises appeared in the Soviet Union after 1921 when it implemented the New Economic Policy" as evidence. In the early years of the People's Republic of China, **private and foreign-invested economies were allowed to exist and develop**, but were ultimately **transformed into public ownership** through methods such as "socialist transformation."

Unlike the Soviet Union's early experience facing imperialist armed intervention, the new **China selectively accepted large-scale aid from the Soviet-led socialist bloc** within the Cold War framework. Therefore, China's early policies on foreign investment and private economy can be seen as a unique practice within the framework of Leninist theory, combined with the **country's national conditions** and the **international environment.**

Let's study the question of "accounting and control" as a concrete manifestation of the core question of "**who rules**" in socialist practice, especially under NEP conditions.

Similarities in "accounting and control"

Lenin emphasized that socialist construction requires "the calculation and supervision of product production and distribution." The relationship between "**political capital**" and "**economic capital,**" as well as the mechanisms of "**accounting and control,**" are the key to understanding the economy, especially under NEP

conditions. **This is not merely a technical issue** of fiscal and tax supervision, but a fundamental question of how to manage capital and prevent its alienation in socialist practice.

For state-owned enterprises, which occupy a dominant position in strategic sectors, the core of supervision is to prevent insider control and the loss of state-owned assets. The main means include:

Financial and Accounting Supervision, Penetrative Supervision, Data Penetration, Standard Penetration, Business Penetration, Entity Penetration, Budget and Revenue Management, Guiding the Private Sector, Reverse Mixed Ownership "Reform", Tax Leverage Regulation, Legislative Norms, Precise Regulation, Foreign Investment Management, Pre-establishment National Treatment + Negative List, Security Reviews and Countermeasures. (2-*See note section for details)*

In summary, although it has nuances based on the concrete conditions of each, the "**accounting and control" mechanism** used in the Soviet Union and in China is not a single approach, but a multi-layered, differentiated, and complex system. In China:

1. **For the state-owned economy**: The core is "controlling". Through "penetrating" financial supervision and budget management, it ensures the stability and reliability of its economic foundation as "political capital."

2. **For the private economy:** The core is "guiding". Through market-oriented means such as state-owned capital participation (reverse mixed ownership) and taxation, it brings development onto the national strategic track.

3. **For the foreign-invested economy**: The core is "delineating boundaries". While opening up through a "negative list," it safeguards national security through a security review mechanism. This mechanism technically answers the question of "how to control," aiming to achieve "calculation and supervision" of various types of capital to varying degrees through financial, tax, and administrative means, preventing any single capital force from challenging "political power."

Contemporary Chinese practice seeks a technical answer to this theoretical problem: by establishing a comprehensive **regulatory system** covering finance, taxation, and administration, it aims to effectively guide, supervise, and constrain "**political capital**" over "**economic capital.**" China's "Socialist Market Economy" is **the dialectical development of the NEP in the 21st century.** It recognizes that: 1) Productive forces must be developed to their highest potential before the full transition to communism is possible. 2) Market mechanisms can be utilized to allocate resources efficiently, generate innovation, and create wealth. 3) Private capital can be tolerated and even encouraged **but only under the strict supervision** and direction of the socialist state.

The scale of China's integration with global capitalism makes it a target for accusations of "imperialism." But the accusation confuses **“integration with the global market”** with **“domination of the global market”**. China participates in the world capitalist system; it does not seek to control it for super profits through colonies or subjugating other countries.

f)- China’s State Capitalism-– Data on State Control, mechanism of “economic capital” control

> "The transition from capitalism to communism represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch is terminated, the capitalists will stubbornly attempt to restore capitalism." *Lenin, various works*

As far as "state capitalism" is concerned, the difference between a capitalist country and a socialist, people's democracy country is that, in capitalist countries "state capitalism" is a phase for the transformation of the major industries to private industries. This is sharply manifested in the fascistization of political systems like in Germany, Italy, and Japan. In a socialist and/or people's democracy, **it is the phase to monopolize the large industries** under private control to the State. The purpose of each is contradictory. The same happened in Soviets and China for the purpose of nationalizing the banking and heavy industries and (in semi-feudal countries) to increase productivity, letting capitalism develop under state control.

To prove China is "imperialist," **one must first prove that "the Chinese state** is controlled by the capitalist class" and that "the **Chinese Communist Party is an instrument of the bourgeoisie.**" From the perspective of classical Marxist theory, this judgment touches upon fundamental definitions of the **nature of the state** (instrumentalism vs. relative autonomy) and the **nature of the party** (vanguard vs. class agent). This is **not something that can be easily falsified** or verified through data alone.

Clear legal provisions and a **complete set of** institutional mechanisms ensure the leadership of the Communist Party of China and fundamentally **prevent the emergence of an independent political party r**epresenting bourgeois interests or that class seizing state power. This mechanism operates on two

levels: **first,** the fundamental **constitutional and legal guarantees** that provide the highest legal foundation for the entire system; and **second,** the specific systems and organizational structures built on this basis, **which ensure the implementation and enforcement of these principles** in daily political life.

Constitutional and Legal Guarantees: Establishing Fundamental Principles (3- *See notes section for details)*

Furthermore, a socialist, public-ownership-based economic foundation can fundamentally prevent **the formation of privileged private interest groups**. Moreover, unlike capitalist countries, socialist countries **openly declare the dictatorship of the proletariat** and **do not allow parties** representing bourgeois interests to share power.

In conclusion, China's constitutionally **established state nature and party system,** along with the comprehensive political operating mechanisms built upon them, together constitute a solid legal and institutional **barrier against the bourgeoisie forming** independent political parties or seizing state power.

g)- China’s stock market, Billionaires in China

The Soviet Union did not have a conventional stock market for private company shares during most of its existence. After the 1917 revolution, the Bolsheviks abolished private enterprise and **shut down all stock exchanges**, replacing the economy with a state-controlled central plan

The stock market in China has no overall economic significance yet it is too large to be insignificant. It is “not” a **primary indicator of national economic health**, unlike the US where the S&P

500 is closely tied to consumer spending and pension funds. *(9-See notes for details)*

China focuses on economic growth, reinvesting in the tangible economy rather than the stock market.

China's Gross Fixed Capital Formation (investment in infrastructure, factories, machinery) averages ~42% of GDP annually, compared to the US at ~21%. China r**einvests its surplus directly into physical production**. Conversely, Chinese companies pay very low dividends (average dividend yield is ~2.5% vs. the US ~5.5%) because **profits are legally required or strongly encouraged to be reinvested in research and Development** and capital expansion rather than returned to shareholders.

China's policy favors labor over capital, especially in state-owned enterprises. SOEs are mandated to maintain employment stability. During economic downturns, SOEs are ordered to over-hire to absorb unemployment, prioritizing social stability over profit margins.

Cracking down on financial investments on 'money, preventing a rentier economy in the private sector. Since 2020, the CCP has waged a deliberate war on "**financialization without industrialization.**" Important examples:

Ant Group (2020): Jack Ma's fintech IPO (Initial Public Offering) was valued at ~$300 billion, but it was canceled hours before listing. The **company was forced to restructure** as a financial holding company, dramatically reducing its valuation and **preventing a "shadow banking" empire**.

Private Equity Crackdown: In 2023-2024, regulators forced **hundreds of private equity firms out of business** and banned "club deals" where billionaires used leveraged buyouts to **extract profits without creating new factories.**

Regulation on "Chaotic" Capital: The official "**Common Prosperity" campaign** explicitly targets "excessive capital expansion" in internet platforms (Tencent, Alibaba) that **prioritized financial gaming over industrial innovation**. Fines exceeded $10 billion USD cumulatively, with **directives to pivot spending toward "hard technology"** (chips, AI, biotech).

Due to harsh regulations, the b**illionaires in China have stocks in real tangible industries**, rather than in a 'stock Market'." Concrete Data:

Of the top 20 Chinese billionaires, the **majority derive their wealth from manufacturing,** EVs (BYD), batteries (CATL), solar panels, and consumer appliances**. Contrast this with the US,** where top **billionaires derive wealth from financialized tech platforms** (Apple, Microsoft, Nvidia) whose valuations are driven **by stock market speculation, not physical production.** Key example: The world's largest EV battery maker, CATL, has a massive market cap, but its billionaire founder (Zeng Yuqun) made his money by **supplying physical batteries** to automakers, **not by financial engineering.**

Anyone who tries to create financial alternatives has been penalized. As a result, the direction of private billionaires is **decreasing rather than increasing** compared to the US-West.

According to the Hurun China Rich List, the combined wealth of China's top 100 billionaires peaked in 2021 at $3.1 trillion and

has since **declined** to ~$2.2 trillion (as of late 2025). Over the same period, US billionaire wealth (Forbes) has **increased** from ~$4.5 trillion to over $5.8 trillion.

The CCP has openly stated it will "guide" **billionaires to donate more to the state's "Third Distribution"** (charity) and to **reinvest profits into state-designated strategic sectors.** Those who try to **move capital offshore** or create unregulated digital assets (cryptocurrency) have **faced asset freezes and legal prosecutions** (e.g., the 2024 crackdown on over-the-counter crypto brokers, which imprisoned several financiers).

In summary, the **CCP actively suppresses 'rentier capitalism' by penalizing financial speculation,** canceling speculative IPOs, and **forcing private billionaires to anchor their wealth in tangible manufacturing** and R&D. Consequently, **while US billionaire wealth has surged through stock market financialization**, China's billionaire class has seen a **net 30% decline in collective wealth since 2021,** as the Party rigorously redirects capital toward physical reinvestment and labor-stabilizing SOEs, **preventing the emergence of a Western-style,** stock-dependent rentier economy.

h)- Question of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

> "The dictatorship of the proletariat is the struggle of the proletariat, which has conquered power and **taken the means of production into its own hands**.". *Lenin, "The State and Revolution"*

The question of the dictatorship of the Proletariat occupies a central place in Marxist-Leninist theory. Lenin restored and further developed the Marxist teaching on smashing the old, exploiting

apparatus of State power, and explained **how to carry it out** in practice. Lenin pointed out that the smashing of the bourgeois state is inconceivable without a series of actions, **breaking up the economic power** of the landlords and the capitalists,

As Stalin pointed out in the Foundations of Leninism that, "**the new that Lenin contributed to the teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat consists in that** he (a) pointed to Soviet power as the State form of the dictatorship of the proletariat (b) disclosed in the formula of the dictatorship of the proletariat a **special form of the class alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry** with the leading role of the proletariat in this alliance; (c) elaborated the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the highest form of democracy in a class society, a proletarian democracy that reflects the interests of the majority (of exploited), as opposed to bourgeois democracy which reflects the interests of the minority (of exploiters)."

Stalin defended Leninist teachings on the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and the working class's leading role in this alliance as the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Stalin pointed out that t**he main question in Marxism-Leninism is the dictatorship of the proletaria**t, and he gave a brilliant definition of its three aspects.

"The utilisation of the power of the proletariat; (1) for the suppression of the exploiters, for the defence of the country, for the consolidation of the ties with the proletarians of the other lands, and for the development and the victory of the revolution in all countries, (2) in order to detach the toiling and exploited masses once and for all from the bourgeoisie, to consolidate the alliance of the proletariat with these masses, to enlist these masses for

the work of Socialist construction, and to ensure the **State leadership of these masses by the Proletariat**, (3) for the organisation of Socialism, for the abolition of classes, for the transition to a society without classes, to a society without a State…." *Stalin, The Foundations of Leninism*

Stalin;

> "**only all these three aspects taken together** give us a **complete and finished concept** of the dictatorship of the Proletariat." *Stalin, Problems of Leninism,*

In 1933, when the **foundations of a Socialist economy** had already been laid, Stalin came out against the enemies of the people who were preaching the 'abolition' of the Soviets in the field of all-out collectivization and against those who sowed confusion by representing the question of the withering away of the State in an oversimplified manner.

> "Some comrades interpreted the thesis on the abolition of classes, the establishment of classless society, and the withering away of the State to mean a justification of laziness and complacency, **a justification of the counter-revolutionary theory that the class struggle is subsiding and that State power is to be relaxed.** Needless to say, such people cannot have anything in common with our Party. They are either degenerates or double-dealers and must be driven out of the Party. **The abolition of classes cannot be achieved by the subsiding of the class struggle, but by its intensification**. The State will die out not as a result of the relaxation of the State power, but as a result of its utmost consolidation, which is necessary for

> the purpose of finally crushing the remnants of the dying classes, and of organizing defense against the capitalist encirclement which is far from having been done away with as yet and **will not soon be done away with**." *Stalin, Report on the Work of the Central Committee to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.),*

I) The Dialectical Conclusion: State Capitalism Under Proletarian Control is Not Imperialism

> "The dictatorship of the proletariat is the power of the working class, exercised in alliance with the peasantry." *Stalin, various works*

The comparison between Lenin's NEP and China's EP reveals a continuous Leninist tradition: "the proletarian state can utilize capitalist methods to strengthen socialism."

The data on "power capital" and "private capital" proves that **China's state dominates capital, not the reverse.** This inverts imperialist finance capital. The purpose of China's economic policy- domestic welfare, resource security, and mutual development- proves its anti-imperialist character.

Those who call China "imperialist" do not understand Lenin's definition but confuse: " **participation in the global market**" with **"domination of the global market**, **State-regulated private capital"** with "imperialist finance capital, and investment for domestic welfare and mutual benefit" with "investment for super profits and exploitation.

This confusion is not a scientific error; **it is the result of ideological warfare.** "

4.6 - The Scientific Definition of Imperialism

The full 40-page exposition of Lenin's definition is covered in the preceding article. **Here, we extract the essential economic and political criteria** (the 'Seven Conditions') necessary for empirical testing. It is imperative to distinguish between expansionism as a general historical phenomenon (exemplified by pre-capitalist empires like Tsarist Russia or the Ottomans) and imperialism as a scientific Marxist-Leninist category, which Lenin rigorously defined as the highest stage of capitalism, characterized by the dominance of finance capital and monopoly. The accusation against China invokes Lenin's scientific definition. Therefore, disproving China's capitalist character simultaneously disproves the imperialist accusation. We are not debating geopolitical expansionism in the abstract; we are testing specific economic and political formations.

4.6.1- Economic Aspect summarized

The economic essence of imperialism lies in replacing free competition with monopoly domination. “Monopolies” generally refer to single entities controlling the entire market for a given particular goods or services. “Trusts”, “cartels” etc., refer to combinations of companies controlling a substantial portion of the market for goods and services.

4.6.2- Political Aspect summarized

Political definition of imperialist state may be summarized as “the systematic militarization of the economy, converting productive capacity into instruments of subjugation, while financial/tech/trade systems are weaponized to sustain global dominance.” Imperialism and war are inseparable twins. That is why

the issue of “imperialism” and attitude to it cannot be studied independently from its political aspect- that is (militarization of industry and) war- in each given concrete condition and situation.

4.6.3- Scientific definition summarized

Lenin was saying that “Abstract theoretical reasoning may lead to the conclusion at which Kautsky has arrived .. by abandoning Marxism. It goes without saying that **there can be no concrete historical assessment** of war, unless it is based on a thorough analysis of the nature of imperialism, both in its economic and political aspects.” (1) "Marxist must proceed not from what is possible, but from what is real" (33) branding of a country as "imperialist " in its scientific meaning should be made based on the concrete realities of that given time with the answer to the questions of; 1) whether the country is a producer or consumer, 2) whether the interests of that given country is aligned with war or peace, 3) whether the country has a military industry and the economy of which is built on war-footing for subjugating the others. 4) whether it has a military aggressive posture or a defensive posture. Lacking any of these characteristics at that given time, a country cannot be branded as "imperialist" in its scientific meaning without differentiation.

4.7-- The Seven Conditions of Imperialism - Application of the scientific concept of imperialism to China

Item-by-Item Examination of the Seven "Imperialist" Conditions

Condition 1: Monopolization; monopolization of all major industries under the dominance of finance capital

Among China's major industries, **state-owned enterprises occupy 27 of the top 30** positions and account for **over 60% of infrastructure investmen**t. State capital dominates strategic industries such as **energy, transportation, communications, and finance.** However, this is a state monopoly rather than a private financial capital monopoly; decision-making power belongs to the Party and state institutions, **not private financial oligarchs.** This differs fundamentally from Lenin's description of "finance capital rule" in terms of ownership and control.

Condition 2: The formation of state capitalism; to consolidate other major state institutions

While Chinese SOEs pursue profits, **they also bear policy objectives**. The government uses SOEs to implement industrial policies, **drive technological innovation,** and execute strategic development tasks. This model can be described as a "**state-led market economy.**" However, whether it constitutes "state capitalism" depends on the definition; if "state capitalism" means the **state serves capital accumulation,** then it exhibits certain features, but if it means the **state itself has become the executive committee of the bourgeoisie**, that does not align with China's ownership structure.

Condition 3: Export of capital – monopolizing and controlling international financial institutions and transactions

Indicator 2024 Data on China's Outward Direct Investment (ODI): ODI Flow $192.2 billion USD, up 8.4% year-on-year; Global Share 11.9%, Global Ranking among the global top 3 for 13 consecutive years; ODI Stock $3.14 trillion USD, Number of Overseas Enterprises 52,000, covering 190 countries and

regions, Investment in "Belt and Road" Countries 19,000 overseas enterprises

China is indeed one of the world's **major capital exporters.** However, regarding **control of international financial institutions**, China's voting rights in the IMF and the World Bank are far lower than those of the United States; **it does not dominate these institutions.** The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the New Development Bank, which China helped establish, are supplementary arrangements for China's participation in international financial governance and **have not yet created monopolistic control over the international financial system.**

Condition 4: Deindustrialization – shifting production to other countries for cheap labor

China's manufacturing value-added as a share of GDP: 1997-38.5%, 2024 - 24.9%

China's manufacturing share **has indeed declined** from its peak, but **it remains at 24.9%** – much higher than that of typical "deindustrialized" countries like the **United States (approx. 11%)** and the **United Kingdom (approx. 9%)**. China has remained the world's **largest manufacturing** nation for 15 consecutive years, and the value-added of high-tech **manufacturing grew by 8.9%.** This indicates that **China has not experienced "deindustrialization"** in the classic sense; the decline in manufacturing share is a natural result of economic structural evolution (the rising share of the service sector), **not industrial hollowing-out.**

Condition 5: Militarization; a war economy of an offensive, aggressive character

China's military expenditure 2024 data: National Defense Expenditure 1.665 trillion RMB (approx. $236 billion USD), Share of GDP 1.27%–1.71% (depending on statistical sources), Global Average 1.8%, NATO Target 2%, United States 3.4%

China's military expenditure as a share of GDP is **below the global average and far below NATO's 2% target.** While China's military spending has grown for 30 consecutive years, its share of GDP has remained **below 1.5% for a long period.** In terms of military spending as a share of GDP, China **does not display the characteristics of a "war economy.**" Of course, the total military budget is large (second in the world), but this **reflects its economic size, not a "war economy" model.**

Condition 6: Transition from producer to consumer country; dependence on resource-rich and producer countries

China's manufacturing sector accounts for 24.9% of GDP, and it remains the world's largest manufacturing producer. China is also the world's **largest importer of natural resources** (oil, natural gas, iron ore, copper, etc.) and **depends heavily on resource imports**. However, China **has not transitioned from a "producer" to a "consumer" country** – it remains the core production node of global supply chains. China's global leadership in new energy (electric vehicles, batteries, solar power) further **reinforces its role as a producer.**

Condition 7: Permanent military export; permanently deploying military forces to other countries to suppress resistance.

China's overseas military presence: One logistics support base in Djibouti, compared with the US. The US has approximately 800 overseas bases.

China has only one overseas logistics support base (in Djibouti), and it serves **logistical replenishment, not combat deployment.** Compared to the US's approximately 800 overseas military bases and permanent stationing of hundreds of thousands of troops, China's **overseas military presence is negligible.** UN peacekeeping operations are international obligations within a multilateral framework and are not "imperialist" military exports in an aggressive sense.

5.1- Summary of Comprehensive Assessment

1. Financial Capital Monopoly; State monopoly exists, **but it is not a private financial capital monopoly**

2. State Capitalism; The state plays a dominant role in the economy, but **the ownership structure is not capitalist**

3. Capital Export; Control of International Finance: Partially (capital export) / No (control of international finance). Large-scale capital export, but no control of international financial institutions. Participation in global capital flows is not the same as domination. Imperialism requires the latter, the monopolistic control of international finance, **not merely its use.**

4. Deindustrialization; Manufacturing share is 24.9%; remains the world's largest manufacturing nation

5. Offensive Militarization; Military spending as % of GDP is below the global average and NATO target

6. Producer to Consumer Transition; Remains the **world's largest producer**

7. Permanent Military Export; Only 1 overseas logistics base

China does have large-scale capital exports and state monopolies, but **it lacks the prerequisite of "bourgeois control of the state,"** as well as the **key characteristics of offensive military expansion and deindustrialization.**

Having tested China against the seven conditions as they exist in present material reality, and finding them unmet, the scientific case is closed. To definitively close the theoretical loophole, however, we must now establish the qualitative class character of the Chinese state—because a state that is presently under the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot simultaneously, in the same historical moment, be the organ of finance capital. This final verification solidifies the verdict.

4.9- Is China Socialist, people's democracy, or capitalist

> "If the political power in the state is in the hands of a class whose interests coincide with those of the majority, that state can really be governed according to the will of the majority." *Lenin, The State and Revolution*

Before concluding our investigation, we must directly answer the foundational accusation that underlies all others: "**China is not socialist; it is capitalist.**" This accusation is the bedrock upon which the "**imperialist**" **label is built.** If China is not socialist, then it could be imperialist. However, **if China remains qualitatively socialist, the entire accusation collapses.** We will answer this question not through subjective opinion, but

through the objective criteria established by the Marxist-Leninist tradition.

As we established in Chapter 1.1 through Stalin's direct critique of those who ignore national peculiarities, the concept of 'Chinese characteristics' is not a departure from Leninism—**it is the application of Stalin's own tactical principle to China's concrete conditions**.

Based on Lenin's assertion that socialism is a "process of experimentation and learning," and Stalin's view that "**the path of socialist construction depends on the national conditions of each country**," this response to the user's question about w**hether** "**China's political trend is toward socialism or a different form of capitalism**" hinges on understanding the concept of "**building Socialism** ” based on its own conditions and historical characteristics.

Stalin, in his article, “ Comment on Current Affairs: On China,” refuting the nonsensical talk of the Trotskyites on the Chinese question, explained several main tactical principles of Leninism, the first one of which was :

> "The principle of the necessity of **taking into account the national peculiarities and national characteristics of each country** while working out the guiding instructions of the Communist International for the working class movement of that country."

Stalin then emphasized combining general Marxist-Leninist principles with national characteristics.

> "Notwithstanding the ideological growth of our Party, **unfortunately** there is still in our Party a certain type of "leaders" who sincerely believe that it is possible to direct the revolution in China, so to speak, by telegraph on the basis of the known and universally recognized general principles of the Communist International **without taking into consideration the national peculiarities of Chinese economy,** Chinese political regime, **Chinese culture, Chinese customs and traditions.** These "leaders" differ from the real leaders precisely in that **they always have in their pockets two or three ready made formulae that are "suitable" for all countries** and "obligatory" **in all conditions.** For them there is no question of taking into account the national character and national peculiarities of each country**. For them there is no question of coordinating the general principles of the Communist International with the national peculiarities** of the revolutionary movement in each country, of applying the general principles of the Communist International to **the national and state peculiarities of different countries**." … Our oppositionists belong precisely to this type of these miserable leaders."

And Stalin finished with a statement that most ignore, especially today:

> "In order to **smash these powerful enemies** it is necessary to have **a flexible and well-considered policy** of the proletariat, **skill to take advantage of every crack in the enemy camp,** skill **in finding allies**".

Stalin's warning is prophetic for our own time. The modern critics of China—who denounce 'Chinese socialism' as a deviation while living safely in imperialist metropoles—are the direct heirs of these 'miserable leaders.' They believe they can judge the Chinese revolution 'by telegraph,' without understanding the concrete conditions of Chinese society, Chinese history, or the complexities of building socialism in a country of over a billion people that was once a semi-feudal, semi-colonial nation. Stalin's lesson is clear: to reject national peculiarities is not to defend Leninism, but to abandon it for sectarian dogmatism."

A comprehensive analysis of existing data and theories leads to a dialectical conclusion that the fundamental political trend in contemporary China is not toward capitalism as defined **in the traditional sense**, but rather an **exploration of a pat**h as an innovative form of socialism **based on China's national conditions**, blending a socialist political framework with market economic mechanisms that **differs** from both Western capitalism and the traditional Soviet model.

It combines the **basic principles of Marxism with contemporary Chinese realities**, acknowledging that socialist construction requires systematic exploration "based on upholding fundamental principles and innovating." **This responds to Lenin's assertion that "there is no ready-made experience, and learning is necessary.**"

If we set aside subjectivity and rote, and look at Stalin's entire context quoted above, we can deduce that the **term "Socialism"** represents universal, **scientific Marxist-Leninist principles.** The term **"Chinese characteristics"** represents exactly what Stalin called the "**specific features of a particular country.**"

Stalin (so did Lenin) explicitly mandated that **we must consider the 'specific features' of each country.** The term 'Chinese Characteristics' is simply the formal, institutionalized name for **China's specific features** within the building of socialism. **Stalin did not reject national adaptations**; **he required them**. To reject 'Chinese Characteristics' in that sense is to reject *(Lenin)* Stalin's own directive to **adapt socialism to local realities.** The term describes the practice, **not a new theory**. **It does not claim to be a separate "ism";** it claims to be the **universal science applied locally**. The term 'Characteristics' is accurate because it denotes the holistic, integrated outcome of this union, **not merely a list of superficial 'features.'**

The core institutional features supporting the judgment that "**China is still on the socialist path**" include: 1) **The Leadership of the Communist Party of China:** This is explicitly defined as "the most essential feature and the greatest advantage of socialism ." 2) **Long-Term National Planning:** The state is able to formulate and implement long-term development strategies spanning decades and covering key areas such as the economy, science and technology, and education. 3) **Public Ownership in Strategic Industries:** Key strategic industries such as banking, energy, transportation, and telecommunications are owned and controlled by the state to safeguard economic sovereignty. 4) **Priority of Collective Interests:** When individual interests conflict with collective interests, the state intervenes to protect the overall well-being. 5) **Guidance and Constraint of Capital**: The theory of capital emphasizes that **the purpose of capital is to "serve the people**" and is **subject to** state restrictions, preventing it from achieving its "totalization" as in capitalist societies.

This reflects the "**control" rather than "laissez-faire**" approach to capital.

Economic Data and Achievements: The Result of a Hybrid Model

China's economic achievements reflect the "**hybrid effect" of the socialist political framework** and market economy mechanisms: In 2025, China's GDP surpassed the 140 trillion yuan mark for the first time, with per capita GDP reaching 99,665 yuan. **These achievements were made within the framework of socialist practice.** In 2025, the added value of high-tech manufacturing increased by 9.4%, and that of equipment manufacturing by 9.2%. This demonstrates that industrial upgrading is underway under the guidance of national strategy.

China has **lifted not 1, not 7, not 9, not 20 but over 800 million people out of extreme poverty within decades,** an achievement attributed to "targeted public policies, central planning, and strong **state investment**," rather than **purely** free markets. This institutional hybridity has generated ongoing academic debate. China simultaneously exhibits **characteristics of both capitalism and socialism.** This "hybrid" nature is also described as a pragmatic combination: "**using a socialist political structure to provide stability, and using capitalist market logic to create efficiency.**"

4.10- The Inescapable Conclusion: Who Defies Lenin's Definition?

> "The question is not **whether there is commodity production or exchange** under socialism. The question is **whether the state power is in the hands of the**

> **working class,** whether the state power is used for the **socialist construction** of the economy." *Stalin, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR"*

This brings us to the final, inescapable conclusion: China does not defy Lenin's definition of imperialism; those who do not know or comprehend it defy it, and thus call China imperialist.

Their failure is not in their evidence (which is non-existent) but in their method. They have **replaced dialectical materialism with subjectivism.**

The accusation of "**Chinese imperialism**" fails on every scientific level: **Economically**: China's state dominates capital, not the reverse. Its foreign investment is for resource security and mutual development, not super profits. **Politically**: China does not divide the world into colonies or spheres of influence; it pursues multipolarity and non-interference. **Qualitatively:** China is a **socialist state** under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism. China meets all three criteria for a **socialist state**. The Communist Party of China is **the vanguard** of the proletariat and SOEs control the commanding heights. The state directs economic planning through five-year plans and industrial policies. **A socialist state cannot be imperialist** by definition.

4.11- The Final Synthesis: A Confession of the Accuser's Ideology

> "Commodity production **under socialism** is a special form of commodity production, which **does not lead to capitalism,** because it is under the **control of the state**." *Stalin, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR"*

The accusation that China is imperialist **is not a scientific observation;** it is a confession. It reveals that the accuser cannot conceive of a power that does not seek to dominate, because domination is the only language their own economic system speaks. **They project the logic of imperialism onto a system that has structurally superseded it.**

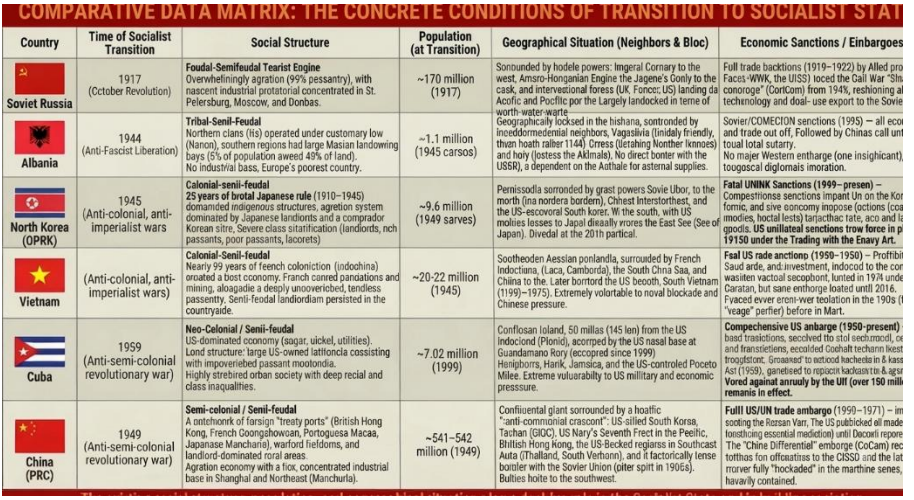
In the end, those who level this accusation are not **defenders of Leninism**; they are inheritors of the Kautskyite-Bernsteinist tradition Lenin criticized over a century ago. They hide behind "ultra-left" slogans while serving the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

This brings us back to the Kafkatrap outlined in our introduction:

If a socialist country is underdeveloped → "Socialism is incapable."

If a socialist country develops → "Then it must be capitalist/imperialist."

The trap is designed to validate their anti-Leninist "**socialism in one country is impossible**" theory, and ensure that socialism can never succeed in any country in the eyes of its accusers. But the **trap reveals more about the trappers than about the target.** It reveals that their worldview **cannot process the existence of a non-exploitative hegemon**.



COMPARATIVE DATA MATRIX: THE CONCRETE CONDITIONS OF TRANSITION TO SOCIALIST STAT

Country	Time of Socialist Transition	Social Structure	Population (at Transition)	Geographical Situation (Neighbors & Bloc)	Economic Sanctions / Einbargoes
Soviet Russia	1917 (October Revolution)	**Foudal-Semifeudal Tearist Engine** Overwhelminghy agration (95% pessantry), with nascent industrial protatorial concentrated in St. Pelersburg, Moscow, and Donbas.	~170 million (1917)	Sonounded by hodele powers: Imgeral Cornary to the west, Amsro-Hongonian Engine the Jagene's Gonly to the cask, and intervestional foress (UK, Foncer, US) landing da Acofic and Pocfitc por the Largely landocked in terne of worth-water-warte.	Full trade backtions (1919–1922) by Allied pro Faces WWK, the UISS) loced the Cail War "Stn conoroge" (CortCom) from 1949, reshioning a techenology and doal- use export to the Sovie
Albania	1944 (Anti-Fascist Liberation)	**Tribal-Senil-Feudal** Northern clans (Its) operated under customary low (Nanon), southern regions had large Masian landowring bays (5% of population aweed 49% of land). No industrial bass, Europe's poorest country.	~1.1 million (1945 carsos)	Geographically lockswd in the hishana, sontronded by Inceddormedemial neighbors, Vagasilvia (linidaly friendly, thvan hoath ralber 1144) Orress (Ilerahing Nonther Iknnoes) and hoiy (lostess the Aklmals). No direct bonter with the USSR), a dependent on the Authale for asternal supplies.	Sovier/COMECON senctions (1955) — all ecc and trade out off, Followed by Chinas call unt toual lotal sutarry. No majer Western enthargе (one insighicant), tougoscal diglomais imoration.
North Korea (OPRK)	1945 (Anti-colonial, anti-imperialist wars	**Calonial-senii-feudal** **25 years of brotal Japanese rule** (1910–1945) domamded indigenous structures, agretion system dominated by Japanese landlords and a comprador Korean sitre, Severe class sitarification (landlords, nch passants, poor passants, lacorets)	~9.6 million (1949 sarves)	Pernissodla sorrounded by grast powers Sovie Ubor, to the morth (ina nordera bordern), Chhest Interstorthest, and the US-escovoral South korer. W the south, with US molties losses to Japal dikeally rrores the East See (See of Japan). Divedal at the 201h partical.	**Fatal UNINK Sanctions (1999– presen) –** Compestrionse senctions impant Un on the Kor fornic, and sive eoncomy inopose (octions (coa rmodies, hoctal leste) tarjacthac tate, aco and l goodls. **US unillateal senctions trow force in p 19150 under the Trading with the Enavy Art.**
Vietnam	(Anti-colonial, anti-imperialist wars)	**Calonial-Senil-feudal** Nearly 99 years of feench coloniction (indochina) orcated a bost cconomy. Franch canred panciations and mining, alogadie a deeply unconverichecl, tendless passentty. Senti-feodal landiordiam persisted in the countryaide.	~20-22 million (1945)	Sootheoden Aessian ponlandla, surrouded by French Indoctiana, (Laca, Camborda), the South Chna Saa, and Chiina to the. Later borrtord the US beooth, South Vietnam (1199)–1975). Extremely volartable to noval blockade and Chinese pressure.	**Fsal US rade anctiono (1950–1950)** – Proffibi Saud arde, and investment, indocod to the cor wasiten vactoal sacophont, lunted in 1974 unde Caratan, but sane emthorge loated until 2016. Fvaced ever eroni-wer teolation in the 190s ("veage" perfier) before in Mart.
Cuba	1959 (Anti-semi-colonial revolutionary war)	**Neo-Colonial / Senii-feudal** US-dominated cconomy (sagar, uickel, utilities). Lond structure: large US-owned lattfoncla cossisting with impoveriebed passant mootondia. Highly strebired orban society with deep recial and class inaqualthies.	~7.02 million (1999)	Conflosan loland, 50 millas (145 lan) from the US Indociond (Plonid), acorrped by the US nasal base at Guandamano Rory (eccopred since 1999) Henjborrs, Harik, Jamsica, and the US-controled Poceto Milee. Extreme vuluarabilty to US millitary and economic presssure.	**Compechensive US anbarge (1950-present)** baad trasictions, seccived tto stol secbmodl, o and transtietions, eccalded Coohaft techann Ikest troqdstont, Groaeked to actiood hachecka in & kasa Ast (1959), gametsed to repiacn kadoantte & agst **Vored againat anruuly by the UIt (over 150 mill remanis in effect.**
China (PRC)	1949 (Anti-semi-colonial revolutionary war)	**Semi-colonial / Semi-feudal** A antchonrk of farsign "treaty ports" (British Hong Kong, French Goongshwoan, Portoguesa Macaa, Japanase Manchane), warford fieldoms, and landlord-dominated roral areas. Agration economy with a fiox, concentrated industrial base in Shanghal and Northeast (Manchurla).	~541–542 million (1949)	Confiiuental glant sorrounded by a hoatfic "-anti-commionial crasconf": US-sillied South Korsa, Tachan (GIOC), US Nary's Seventh Frect in the Peeific, Btitisch Hong Kong, the US-Becked regiarss in Southcast Auta (Thalland, South Verhonn), and it factorically tense boirder with the Sovier Union (piter spirt in 1906s). Bulties hoite to the southwest.	**Fulll US/UN trade ambargo** (1990–1971) – im sooting the Rarsan Varr, The US pubticked ell made foosthcing essential medicition) until Dacoirli repore The "Chine Differentiel" emborge (CoCam) rec totthas fon offoeatinas to the CISSO and the lat morver fully "hockaded" in the marthine senes, havarily contained.

4.12- A Comparative Perspective: Socialist States in Their Concrete Conditions

> "Here you are faced with a task which never before faced Communists anywhere in the world: relying on the general communist theory and practice and taking into account **conditions which do not exist in any** European country, you must be able to **apply that theory and practice to conditions** under which the main mass is the peasantry and in which **the task is to fight not capital,** but **survivals of medievalism.**" *Lenin, Address to the Second All-Russia Congress of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East.*

A brief study of the history of existing and previous Socialist states (the image above) clearly proves that **the "path to the revolution" differs** from one country to another.

Albania, with a population of **1.1 million,** a tribal-semi-feudal country, acquired state power under the leadership of the Communist Party **through an anti-fascist war**.

North Korea, with a population of **9.6 million**, a colonial-semi-feudal country, acquired state power under the leadership of the Communist Party through an **anti-colonial and anti-imperialist war.**

Vietnam, with a population of **22 million**, a colonial-semi-feudal country, acquired state power under the leadership of the Communist Party through an **anti-colonial and anti-imperialist war.**

Cuba, with a population of **7 million,** a colonial-semi-feudal country, acquired state power under the leadership of a movement through **an anti-colonial war.**

China, with a population of **half a billion,** a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country, began its revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party in 1927 and acquired state power in 1949 through an **anti-semi-colonial revolutionary war.**

Russia, with a population of **170 million,** a semi-feudal country, acquired state power **through a socialist revolution.** As of today, Russia is still **the only country in history that carried out a socialist revolution**, a revolution that didn't have any precedent to **draw lessons** from but the only one from which lessons are drawn. This **confirms Lenin and Stalin's theory** that the path to revolution in each country will **be based on** the existing conditions, structure, **culture, and character of each country,** as well as the "path to building socialism. Each will serve as an example for countries with similar characteristics to draw lessons from, **with consideration of semi-feudal structures and the population.** Building socialism in a **country with a population of 1 million**, compared to a **country of 120 million** or **half a**

billion, will present a **different set of challenges.** Trial and error, not a prescription that fits all.

Socialist states **cannot be judged by a single, uniform standard**. Each country faces unique **historical, geographical, demographic, and economic conditions** that shape its path. The comparison is not for labeling but for understanding. Recognizing the diversity of historical conditions.

> "The **socialist state** is a state of a new type, serving the interests of the working people." *Stalin, various works*

> "Every country **must find its own path to socialism**." *Lenin, various works*

1 Albania

At the time of the communist takeover in 1944, Albania's **population** was estimated to be just over **1 million.** A post-war census in 1945 recorded about 1.1 million inhabitants. Albania's social structure was a patchwork of **tribal and semi-feudal systems.** The north was basically tribal, while the central and southern regions were semi-feudal. A small class of large landowners (Muslim "beys" and other lords), constituting only about 3% of the population, owned 40% of the land. It was **the poorest and most isolated** country in Europe at the time. The Communist Party (later the Party of Labour) came to power largely through its own **anti-fascist National Liberation War** (1941–1944) against Italian and German occupiers. It had **no significant colonial past**, so its struggle was purely **anti-fascist.** The **transition to a socialist state** occurred immediately after liberation, initially heavily influenced by Yugoslavia and later by the USSR.

Soviet Aid to Albania (until 1960 and later)

Soviet aid to Albania was substantial, primarily in the form of credits to finance industrialization and cover trade deficits. Soviet Union (1940s) – On January 1, 1940, the USSR's population was approximately 194.1 million. By 1951, it was reported to have grown to about 207 million. (4-*See notes for details)*

China's Aid to Albania (until 1971 and later)

China stepped in to fill the void left by the Soviet Union and became Albania's primary benefactor. (5- *See Notes for details)*

2 North Korea

Following its establishment in September 1948, the first population survey in 1949 recorded a total population of **9.622 million**. Before the establishment of the **socialist state,** North Korea was **under Japanese colonial rule,** which had imposed a harsh, exploitative system. The society was highly stratified, with a clear class hierarchy that included **landlords, wealthy peasants, middle peasants, poor peasants, and laborers**. The new regime that came to power after 1945 drew its core support from the **poor working and peasant families** who had little standing under the previous Japanese-dominated regime. It was a Japanese colony from 1910 to 1945, which imposed a brutal extractive agrarian system. After Japan's defeat in WWII, the **Soviet Union occupied the north** and facilitated the establishment of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in 1948. However, the **socialist state was not fully consolidated** until after the anti-imperialist Korean War (1950–1953) against US-led forces, which solidified the northern state's **ideological and economic orientation** toward the Soviet bloc.

Soviet and Chinese Aid to North Korea

Both the Soviet Union and China were major donors to North Korea, especially for post-Korean War reconstruction.

Soviet Aid: *(10- see details in notes section)*

Chinese Aid: (10- see details in notes section)

North Korea's economy **outperformed South Korea's until the late 1970s**. Key factors included: **Land Reform and Industrialization.** After the Korean War, North Korea implemented rapid land reform and collectivization, while South Korea remained under US military administration and did not implement significant land reform until much later. North Korea received substantial economic and technical assistance from the USSR and China, allowing for **rapid industrial reconstruction.** The North Korean economy was **centrally planned,** allowing for the mobilization of resources toward industrial development. North Korea's GDP per capita exceeded South Korea's until approximately 1976-1979.

By the 1970s, North Korea had **achieved near-self-sufficiency in energy** and developed a significant **heavy industrial base**. North Korea's agricultural output per capita was higher than South Korea's until the late 1970s due to collectivization and mechanization.

Why North Korea's Economy Declined:

With the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the loss of Soviet aid, trade, and subsidized energy was catastrophic for North Korea's centrally planned economy. In addition, beginning in the 1990s, escalating **international sanctions** severely restricted

North Korea's ability to trade and access foreign capital. The "Arduous March" of the 1990s and **natural disasters** were exacerbated by severe **flooding and drought,** which devastated agricultural production. Faced with the US military presence in South Korea and the **threat** of regime change, North Korea **prioritized its military industry,** diverting resources **from civilian production.** This was **a defensive necessity, not an economic choice.** However, since the end of COVID, even to the admission of the West, North Korea's **economy is booming.** It grew by 3.7% in 2024 and continued to expand at 3% annually.

China's position on sanctions against North Korea is complex and **open to legitimate debate.** China consistently advocated for diplomatic solutions and has participated in Six-Party Talks and supported UN Security Council **resolutions on denuclearization,** especially that of North Korea, **which cannot be justified in any way from the perspective** of socialist internationalism despite the fact that it **has also blocked** or moderated some sanctions.

China remains North Korea's largest trading partner and source of food and energy aid. Its position is consistent with the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and the recognition that the North Korean people's welfare cannot be sacrificed for geopolitical objectives. As Marxist-Leninists, China understands that **socialism must be defended against imperialist encirclement.**

Historical-materialist analysis; Arriving at a similar outcome (near-zero housing costs), via entirely different material starting concrete conditions.

Country	Primary Mechanism	Material Starting Point	Final Housing Cost
Soviet Russia	Expropriation + State Mass-Building	Tsarist urban landlord stock + rapid industrialization	3–5% of income (communal rent)
Albania	Reconstruction from Emptiness	Tiny population, no urban bourgeoisie, minimal infrastructure	~2% of income (state allocation)
North Korea	Total Reconstruction	85% of cities flattened by war; no standing housing	~1% (nominal usage fee)
Cuba	Expropriation of Intact Stock	Large US/local landlord holdings in Havana	0% (outright ownership)
Vietnam	Hybrid (Expropriation + War Reconstruction)	French/US colonial assets + massive war damage	Pre-1986: ~0%; Post-1986: subsidized affordable
China	Expropriation → State-Building → Market Dual-Track	Continental scale, 540M people, semi-colonial ports, massive migration	1949–78: ~1%; Today: capped at 30% of income

In the building of socialism it is necessary to take into consideration the specific features of a particular country. Stalin

3- Cuba

When the Cuban Revolution triumphed on January 1, 1959, the **population was about 7.02 million**.

Cuba's economy before the revolution was dominated by **a neo-colonial structure** heavily influenced by the United States. The **agrarian system** was characterized by large latifundia (large estates), alongside small minifundia. The majority of the land was held in these large estates, and the social structure was highly stratified, with profound social inequalities. Cuba was not **a formal colony** in 1959, but it operated under a **neo-colonial structure** heavily dominated by US economic interests (sugar, mining, utilities). The agrarian system was semi-feudal, with large latifundia (US-owned and local elites) coexisting with impoverished peasantry.

The 1959 **Revolution was explicitly anti-imperialist** (against the US-backed Batista dictatorship). However, it is important to note that Cuba did not declare itself a **socialist state until 1961** (during the Bay of Pigs invasion), when Fidel

Castro **formally proclaimed** the Marxist-Leninist character of the revolution and the state. Before that, the movement was broadly nationalist and agrarian-reformist.

Soviet (later Russian) and Chinese Aid to Cuba. *6-See Notes for details*

Cuba was heavily dependent on Soviet subsidies for decades. Soviet economic support to Cuba from the 1960s through the 1980s was substantial, covering trade deficits, oil supplies, and capital development.[^4] China's aid to Cuba has been more modest but has increased in recent years, particularly following the deterioration of US-Cuba relations.[^5]

4- Vietnam

At the time of the August Revolution in 1945, Vietnam's **population was approximately 20 million**, with some estimates ranging from 20 to 22 million. Before the August Revolution, Vietnam was a **colonial and semi-feudal** society. The French controlled a backward economy. Nearly two-thirds of the **land was owned by feudal landlords**, and the majority of the population lived in poverty, with high rates of illiteracy. It was a French colony (Indochina) with a classic semi-feudal landlord system. The August Revolution (1945) overthrew the **Japanese and French colonial administrations and led** to the declaration of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This was followed by the **anti-colonial war** against France (1946–1954) and then the **anti-imperialist war** against the US (1955–1975). The socialist transformation of the state in the North began in earnest after 1954, while the South was reunified later.

Soviet and Chinese Aid to Vietnam *(7- See Notes section for details)*

Aid to Vietnam was massive, particularly during the Vietnam War. The data below focuses on the period up to the mid-1970s.

Each state demonstrated the vitality of **socialism under different conditions**. In all four cases, the **communist parties** successfully mobilized the **peasantry as the primary revolutionary force**, despite Marxist theory traditionally focusing on the urban industrial proletariat. The **transition to a socialist state in each country** was also deeply intertwined with **land reform**—confiscating large estates and redistributing them to peasants or creating collective farms—which was the immediate social and economic foundation upon which the **new states were built.**

It is important to study the Chinese conditions and history comparatively to the others.

5- China

At the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, the **population** was approximately **541 million, compared with** others ranging from **1 to 20 million**. That is not an **"existing condition"** to overlook and dismiss for an **objective** and **dialectical study**.

There is **another historical fact** that most are not aware of and thus never consider in studying the Chinese revolution and its character. That is the fact that before seizing power at the national level in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) **had long been exercising governance in various "revolutionary base area**s" across the country. These base areas were not only

military strongholds but also **experimental fields** for New Democratic economic policies. From the establishment of the first rural base area after the **Autumn Harvest Uprising in 1927** to the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, CCP-controlled **territories** expanded from isolated points to contiguous regions.

The **Agrarian Revolutionary War Period (1927–1937)**: After the failure of the Great Revolution, the CCP began to lead armed struggles independently and **shifted its focus from cities to the countryside**. It successively established over a **dozen revolutionary base areas**, including Jinggangshan, southern Jiangxi, western Fujian, Dongjiang, the Zuojiang-Youjiang region, northern Sichuan, and northern Shaanxi. Among these, the Chinese Soviet Republic, proclaimed in Ruijin, Jiangxi, in 1931, was the largest regional regime of this period.

Stalin, in his writing "Comment on Current Affairs: On China" , referring to this era, said;

> "It is not easy to bridle and oppress the millions of **peasants who have already gained possession of the land of the landlords.** The prestige of the proletariat among the working masses ls rising from day to day and its strength is far from having been smashed."

In May 1927, in his article "The Chinese Revolution and the Tasks of the Communist International" , Stalin defined the nature of the Chinese revolution;

The present revolution in China represents the **confluence of two currents of a revolutionary movement**-a struggle against feudal remnants and a struggle against imperialism. The

bourgeois-democratic **revolution in China represents the confluence of the struggle against feudal remnants** and the struggle against imperialism.

In the same article, Stalin emphasized that the Chinese Communist Party must 'take into account the peculiarities of Chinese conditions' and that 'the proletariat of China must not copy the experience of the proletariat of the West, but must creatively apply it to Chinese conditions.

The War of Resistance Against Japan (1937–1945)

During the Second United Front between the CCP and the Kuomintang (KMT), the CCP **reorganized its forces into the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army**, and they went behind enemy lines to establish anti-Japanese base areas. The most famous was the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region, centered at Yan'an. It served as the **headquarters of the CCP Central Committee from 1935** (after the Long March) until 1948. Other major base areas included Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei, Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan, Shandong, and Central China.

In these regions, the Party's involvement was comprehensive and systematic, mainly in politics, the military, the economy, production, society, and culture. They **established Party organizations at all levels** and **Soviet** (later Border Region) governments; led armed struggles; and **built state administrative structures**. They carried out land reform, **organized industrial production**, established fiscal and financial systems, and launched large-scale production campaigns to ensure military and civilian supplies. They promoted **educational reforms** to

improve literacy, mobilizing the masses to participate in social transformation, and reshaping social structures.

The economy of the **base areas** was not a **singular public-ownership system**, but rather a **coexistence of multiple sectors,** known as the "**New Democratic Economy**", a pragmatic strategy at the time. The base area economy was mainly composed of three parts: 1) The Publicly-Operated (State-Run) Sectors, possessing **socialist characteristics**, were directly managed by the democratic governments to ensure military and administrative supplies. **By 1934,** the Central Soviet Area had established **32 publicly-operated factories and mines.** 2) The Cooperative Sector, funded collectively by the masses, had **semi-socialist characteristics** and took various forms, including consumer, production, and credit cooperatives. 3) **The Private Sector**, which included the individual economy of **peasants and artisans,** as well as the capitalist economy of **small and medium-sized merchants.** This formed the main body of the base areas' economy and aimed to **ensure people's livelihoods.**

Taking the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region as an example, its economic structure was even more detailed, comprising five sectors: public, cooperative, capitalist, individual, and vestiges of the feudal economy. **Land reform was central to CCP** governance in the base areas, and its policies evolved through continuous practice. The Jinggangshan **Land Law of 1928 mandated the complete confiscation** of all land and prohibited buying and selling. Because this **was too radical,** the Xingguo Land **Law of 1929 revised it to confiscate only landlords' land.** By 1931, the policy was further adjusted to formally

recognize the **peasants' ownership of the land** distributed to them, allowing them to rent, sell, or mortgage it.

In 1931, the Chinese Soviet Republic passed the Land Law, which legally established the principle of "**equal distribution of all land.**" All subsequent land reforms were practices and developments based on the 1931 Land Law. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, to unite all forces against the Japanese, the policy shifted from "confiscating landlord land" to "rent and interest reduction." **After the War of Liberation, land reform was restored and deepened.**

In summary, before 1949, the **CCP had already engaged in over two decades of localized governance practice in vast regions,** including Jinggangshan, Ruijin, and Yan'an. Its governance centered on land reform, while economically it adopted a **pragmatic policy of coexistence among public, cooperative, private, and other sectors**. This pattern of "coexistence of multiple economic sectors" was precisely based on a deep understanding of **China's backward and unevenly developed productive forces at the time**, and it provided direct **practical experience** for the economic system established after the founding of the People's Republic of China.

The War of Liberation (1945–1949): As the liberated areas rapidly expanded, the **various base areas gradually merged**, laying a solid political, economic, and military foundation for the eventual establishment of a nationwide government. That's why China, in general, was **characterized by the coexistence of different forms of economy** from the start of the war under the leadership of the CCP in the 1920s.

4.13 - The Four Pillars of Socialist Practice: Education, Healthcare, Employment, Housing

> "The principal thing in socialism is the welfare of the people." "The purpose of socialist production is to satisfy the needs of the people." *Stalin, various works*
>
> "In socialist society, the state guarantees the right to work. "*Lenin, various works*

As a student of Marxism-Leninism for over half a century, I have come to believe that **four fundamental indicators** determine the development or direction of socialism in a country. The **Socialist State** is the living **foundation** and **the four pillars** on which **socialism** is **built and sustain**ed. Revolutions cannot be realized without the participation of large masses of people. Similarly, revolutionary governments cannot be sustained and strengthened without the trust, belief, and supportive **participation of large masses**. The path to gaining the belief and confidence of large masses can only be realized through the **four pillars** of socialist practice.

1- Free and compulsory education as an investment in the future.

2-The provision of basic medical insurance for all.

3-The guarantee of work as a matter of state policy.

4-The provision of free or affordable housing as a social right depending on the population and economic development of a given socialist country.

In classical socialism, Education and Healthcare were universally declared totally free (gratis at the point of service). Employment was universally guaranteed (though not "free" in cost—you earned a wage), and Housing was heavily subsidized, costing only a nominal **fraction of income** (usually under 3–5%).

Albania (Socialist Period, 1944–1990)

Education: Totally free at all levels (primary through university). **Healthcare:** Totally free and universal. **Employment:** State-guaranteed. The state assigned jobs to all graduates; unemployment was virtually non-existent. (Cost to worker: $0 for access). **Housing:** State-owned. Rent was nominal—typically 2–3% of a worker's monthly salary. After 1976, **housing was distributed for free to families based on need,** with only negligible municipal service fees.

North Korea (DPRK, since 1948)

Education: Totally free (including university). The state provided stipends to students. **Healthcare:** Totally free. 100% universal coverage with no out-of-pocket costs. **Employment:** Universal state assignment. Every able-bodied citizen is guaranteed

a job by the state planning system. (Cost to individual: none). **Housing:** State-provided. Housing is distributed free of charge, with tenants paying only minimal utility fees (electricity, water)—generally less than **1–2% of average monthly income**.

Cuba (Since 1959)

Education: Totally free from primary through university (including postgraduate). The state even pays for boarding and meals for rural students. **Healthcare:** Totally free. The system is globally recognized for its primary-care focus; there are no out-of-pocket fees for consultation or surgery. **Employment:** State-guaranteed. The communist party ensures near-full employment (though underemployment exists). Cost to worker: $0. **Housing:** Heavily subsidized. Rent in state-owned housing is fixed at **no more than 10% of household income** (often considerably less). Post-1959 land reforms allowed many to own homes, but property transactions are tightly controlled. The 1960 Urban Reform Act Law abolished private landlordism. It stipulated that all tenants who had been paying rent would become the owners of their homes by paying a monthly amortization to the state—capped at a maximum of 10% of household income. Today, 90% of Cubans own their home. No rent, no mortgage, no property taxes. They pay only for utilities (electricity, water, gas) and municipal services, which remain heavily subsidized.

Soviet Russia (USSR, 1917–1991)

Education: Totally free, including higher education (with stipends for high-performing students). **Healthcare:** Totally free and universal (established under the Semashko system). **Employment:** Universal. The Constitution guaranteed the "right to

work," and the state planned full employment. (No cost). **Housing:** Massively subsidized. State-owned apartment rent was fixed at a **very low fraction of income—earlier 1-2%, after the 1960s 3–5%** of the family budget. Utilities were also heavily subsidized.

Vietnam (Socialist Period: North 1954–1975; Unified Socialist Period up to 1986 Doi Moi)

Education: Free for primary and secondary levels. University had **nominal fees**, but scholarships and stipends covered most costs for the poor. **Healthcare:** Largely free in the North during the war. After reunification, the state ran a free system, though it faced resource constraints. **Employment:** State-guaranteed for the public sector; cooperatives provided work in rural areas. (No cost). **Housing:** State-owned housing and cooperatives provided low-rent units, costing a minimum fraction (~5%) of wages.

(Note: Since the 1986 Doi Moi reforms, Vietnam has shifted toward a socialist-oriented market economy. **Today, healthcare and education involve co-payments, and housing is largely privatized.**)

China

China is the most complex because its policy is sharply divided into two distinct eras:

Pre-1978 (Mao Era): Education, healthcare, and housing followed the classical model—**largely free or nominal.** Urban workers received free healthcare, free education for children, and virtually free housing (rent ~1–2% of salary). Rural areas

had the Cooperative Medical System (very low-cost, practically free) and barefoot doctors.

Post-1978 (Reform & Opening to present): China dismantled the universal free model and introduced a socialist-market welfare system. In this system, **Education, Healthcare, and Housing are no longer "totally free" but are framed as "affordable".**

In economics, "affordable" does not mean zero cost. It is strictly defined by **cost-to-income ratios** and poverty-alleviation thresholds. Rather than free distribution, China applies a **multi-tiered, targeted subsidy and insurance framework**:

Healthcare: China has built the **world's largest** basic medical insurance network (covering over 1.3 billion people—~95% of the population). It operates on a tripartite system: Urban Employee Insurance (employed), Urban-Rural Resident Insurance (rural/urban non-employed). The government subsidizes **~70%** of the premium for rural/resident schemes. Patients pay deductibles and co-insurance, but catastrophic illness insurance kicks in for expenses above a local threshold and covers 50–80% of additional costs. As a result, the national average out-of-pocket (OOP) expenditure as a percentage of total health spending has dropped from ~60% in 2000 to roughly 27–30% today—bringing China close to the "affordable" WHO standard for the majority.

Life expectancy has risen to over 78 years, comparable to developed countries. Maternal and infant mortality rates have dropped sharply. China has successfully **eradicated major infectious diseases** like malaria and is making significant progress against tuberculosis.

Housing: Acknowledging that market prices in megacities are unaffordable, China has implemented the "**dual-track**" **housing system**:

Public Rental Housing – provided to low-income families at rents **30–50% below market rates**, typically capped at **~30% of household income**.

Shared-Ownership Housing – allows middle-income buyers to purchase a partial share (e.g., 50%), paying a mortgage on that share while renting the rest at subsidized rates, keeping total monthly costs under the 30% income threshold.

Housing – the State Council has mandated that all cities must ensure affordable housing accounts for a significant portion of new urban supply. **Rent controls and price caps are rigorously enforced** to maintain the 30% affordability ratio. The government has invested trillions in affordable housing projects, particularly in urban areas. The "shantytown renovation" program has improved the living conditions of hundreds of millions. As a result, urban per capita housing area has increased from less than 10 square meters in 1990 to over 40 square meters today. The government has prioritized the housing needs of young professionals and rural migrants through policies like the "housing provident fund."

Housing prices in major cities have risen significantly, and the government is actively regulating the market to curb speculation. The **socialist state aims to keep housing affordable and accessible.**

Education: China mandates 9 years of compulsory education (primary and junior secondary), which is tuition-free. The state

provides the "Two Exemptions and One Subsidy" policy - exemption from tuition and textbook fees, plus living subsidies for boarding students in rural poverty-stricken areas. **Senior high school and university are not free,** but the state offers extensive need-based scholarships, work-study programs, and low-interest student loans to ensure that the total **cost does not exceed 10–15%** of a rural household's annual income—keeping it economically "affordable." China spends over 4% of GDP on education, with continuous increases in funding for rural and poor areas. The literacy rate has risen from 80% in 1980 to **over 97% today**. China has eliminated illiteracy among youth. Over 60% of the population has completed secondary education.

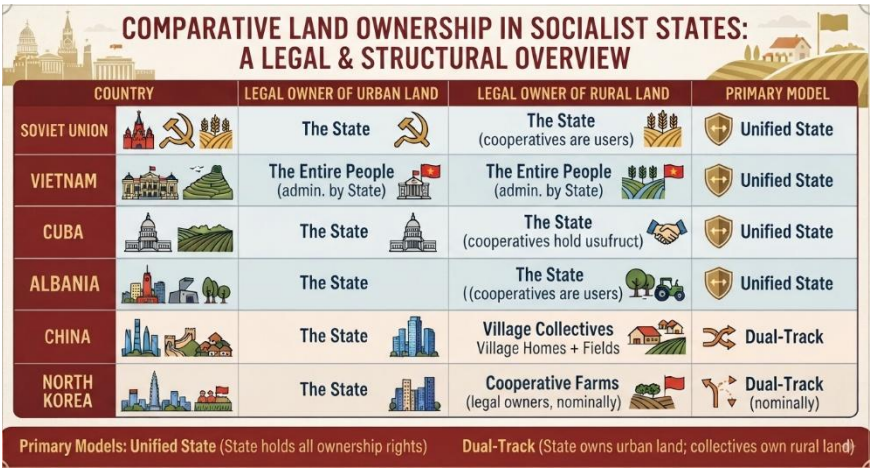
The transition from "totally free" in small, planned economies like Albania, North Korea, and Cuba to "affordable" in **massive, complex economies** like China/Vietnam **is not a retreat from socialism** but an **adaptation to scale and global market integration**. China's approach of "affordability" is scientifically managed through actuarial ratios, 10% for health, 30% for housing, ensuring that even without universal gratuity, basic social goods remain accessible without causing impoverishment, which is argued to be a pragmatic continuation of the "**drawing lessons**" **from their pre-1949 localized experiments**.

Employment: The Chinese government considers employment a **macroeconomic priority.** The Constitution recognizes the **right to work**. Measures include public employment services, job training programs, and support for small and medium enterprises. The government invests heavily in **infrastructure and industrial development to create jobs**. The "Made in China

2025" initiative is also designed to create high-quality employment.

China has maintained an urban registered **unemployment rate of around 4-5%**, despite having **a workforce of over 700 million**. The government has lifted over 700 million people out of poverty in recent decades, **largely through employment creation.** Structural unemployment exists as the **economy transitions from manufacturing to services.** Youth unemployment is a concern, but **remains manageable compared to many developed** countries.

Regarding the 'four pillars of socialist construction,' the c**urrent trajectories of China and Vietnam remain a subject of debate**, requiring sustained observation to **determine their ultimate direction**—whether **toward socialism or toward the restoration of capitalism**. As noted above, these pillars are crucial **for the construction and defense of a socialist state.** The revolution is carried on the shoulders of the workers and peasant masses, **who are equally its primary guardians.** However, if conditions evolve against their fundamental interests—weakening their resilience and collective power—**the four pillars will inevitably collapse.** In that event, **it will be those very masses** who become the main force **for the destruction of that foundation**.



4.13.1- Who owns the lands in a socialist state

Looking specifically at the constitutional ownership of rural and urban land across these six socialist states, they actually split neatly into two distinct legal models, rather than a spectrum.

Model 1: The "Unified State/Public" Model (State is the sole legal owner)

In this model, the law makes **no distinction** between urban and rural ownership. The state (or "the people" as represented by the state) owns 100% of the land, and rural cooperatives or farmers are strictly *users* granted rights by the state.

Soviet Union (USSR): Unified State Ownership. The 1977 Constitution declared all land state property. Collective farms (*kolkhozy*) and state farms (*sovkhozy*) held perpetual use rights, but they were **not** legal owners.

Vietnam: Unified "Ownership by the Entire People". As we discussed, the State acts as the administrator. Urban and rural land are legally identical in ownership status; the distinction is purely based on usage permits (agricultural vs. non-agricultural).

Cuba: Unified State Ownership. The 2019 Constitution retains land as state property (with some usufruct rights for cooperatives and small farmers). The state grants temporary use rights to UBPCs (Basic Units of Cooperative Production), but ultimate legal title remains exclusively with the state.

Albania (under Hoxha, 1976 Constitution): Unified State Ownership. Article 10 explicitly declared that "land, minerals, waters, forests... are state property." Agricultural cooperatives managed the land and had use rights, but the state was the singular legal owner—identical in structure to the Soviet model.

Model 2: The "Dual-Track" Model (State owns Urban; Collective/Cooperative owns Rural)

In this model, the law recognizes **two distinct legal owners**: the state for cities/industry, and a collective legal entity (villages/cooperatives) for farmland.

China: Urban land owned by the State; Rural land owned by the Village Collective (legal ownership). The collective acts as the proprietor, even though it operates under state planning.

North Korea (DPRK): Urban/industrial land owned by the State; Rural agricultural land owned by the Cooperative (Cooperative Ownership). Constitutionally, it matches China's dual structure, though functionally it operates like the Soviet model due to total central planning.

4.14- A final note to the section

The question is not whether China is imperialist. The question is: **Is the direction of the Socialist State of China** (and, by

extension, Vietnam) toward **building socialism,** or toward restoring capitalism?

Because of two-pronged policies and practices—state-sector planning alongside market mechanisms, public ownership alongside private capital—legitimate questions arise in the minds of Marxist-Leninists. These questions are open to **objective discussion** and debate. However, **such debate must not be used to throw dirt** on those socialist states. It must be **conducted within the framework of Marxist norms and Marxist criticism**—not to teach or judge from above, but to study, experience, and draw **lessons for the cause of socialism globally.**

Lenin himself, in 'Left-Wing' Communism: An Infantile Disorder, explicitly warned against the **ultra-left sectarianism** that refuses to engage with the **complexities of concrete conditions.** He understood that revolutionary strategy must adapt to terrain, and that **denouncing a socialist state for its tactical compromises** while **living safely in the imperialist metropole** is the height of **petit-bourgeois arrogance.**

The real question, therefore, is this: What serves the cause of socialism best from afar?

- **Throwing dirt on a socialist state, amplifying bourgeois propagand**a, and reducing complex material conditions to moralistic condemnation?
- **Or offering constructive, comradely criticism** without falling into rote, sectarian, or ultra-left dogmatism?

We must never forget the fundamental fact that **we are living in the era of Ideological Warfare.** The vast majority of the means

of mental production—statistics, news media, think tanks, expert organizations, academic publishing—are **owned and controlled by the capitalist class**. No Marxist-Leninist should ever take data from **bourgeois sources at face value**. Critical suspicion is not optional; **it is a methodological necessity.**

To uncritically **repeat the data and narratives produced by** the World Bank, the IMF, or the CIA—even **while claiming to 'critique' China**—is to **surrender methodologically to the very class enemy we claim to oppose.** A Marxist analyzes the material base behind statistics; he does not consume them as neutral facts.

Anyone who calls himself a Marxist-Leninist **but resorts to using bourgeois gossip**, manipulated data, and imperialist-funded "research" to support **his subjective, rote, or sectarian arguments cannot honestly be called a socialist.** At best, such a figure is an ultra-leftist—**incapable of** understanding that the construction of socialism is a long, uneven, contradictory process, not a static ideal to be measured against abstract perfection.

One of the most widespread gossip items (even used by some leftist writers is: “Xi Jinping” is a multi-billionaire. The evidence? None. Under current Chinese laws and Party regulations, the specific asset declaration records of individual Party leaders **are not public information.** Strict **legal and disciplinary provisions** prohibit unauthorized access to, leakage of, or public dissemination of these internal records to protect national security and social stability.

Because the law explicitly restricts public access to this data, the public cannot verify any specific figures or **claims about**

"**billion-dollar assets**" **circulating online** or through unofficial channels, and they inherently **fall into the category of unsubstantiated speculation and gossip**. Because no legally permissible channel allows an ordinary citizen to obtain this specific data, no external claim can be backed by legally admissible evidence.

While the public cannot access this data, the internal oversight bodies, specifically the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection (CCDI) and its local branches, do have full statutory authority to access, review, and audit these declarations. The restriction on public access does not mean an absence of oversight; rather, it means **oversight is conducted internally** and confidentially through strict Party and state mechanisms.

In simple words; The **asset declarations of the party leaders** and members are submitted to and reviewed by **internal inspection departments.** Laws and Party regulations impose heavy penalties for unauthorized access or publicizing this information. Consequently, **any external public claim about specific asset amounts** is, by definition, **baseless gossip** because the legal framework makes it impossible for the public to obtain or verify that information.

Using gossip to support an argument **alone indicates subjectivity** and the argument's worthlessness.

COMPARATIVE DATA MATRIX: THE CONCRETE CONDITIONS OF TRANSITION TO SOCIALIST STATE

Country	Time of Socialist Transition	Social Structure	Population (at Transition)	Geographical Situation (Neighbors & Bloc)	Economic Sanctions / Embargoes
Soviet Russia	1917 (October Revolution)	**Feudal-Semifeudal Tsarist Empire** Overwhelmingly agrarian (80% peasantry), with nascent industrial proletariat concentrated in St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Donbas.	~170 million (1917)	Surrounded by hostile powers: Imperial Germany to the west, Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Japanese Empire to the east, and interventionist forces (UK, France, US) landing via Arctic and Pacific ports. Largely landlocked in terms of warm-water ports.	Full trade blockade (1918–1921) by Allied powers. Post-WWII, the USSR faced the Cold War "strategic embargo" (CoCom) from 1949, restricting all high-technology and dual-use exports to the Soviet bloc.
Albania	1944 (Anti-Fascist Liberation)	**Tribal-Semi-feudal** Northern clans (fis) operated under customary law (Kanun); southern regions had large Muslim landowning beys (3% of population owned 40% of land). No industrial base; Europe's poorest country.	~1.1 million (1945 census)	Geographically isolated in the Balkans, surrounded by hostile/irredentist neighbors: Yugoslavia (initially friendly, then hostile after 1948), Greece (claiming Northern Epirus), and Italy (across the Adriatic). No direct border with the USSR; a dependent on the Adriatic for external supplies.	Soviet/COMECON sanctions (1961) – all economic aid and trade cut off. Followed by Chinese aid until 1978, then total autarky. No major Western embargo (too insignificant), but perpetual diplomatic isolation.
North Korea (DPRK)	1945 (Anti-colonial, anti-imperialist wars	**Colonial-semi-feudal** 35 years of brutal Japanese rule (1910–1945) dismantled indigenous structures; agrarian system dominated by Japanese landlords and a comprador Korean elite. Severe class stratification (landlords, rich peasants, poor peasants, laborers)	~9.6 million (1949 survey)	Peninsula surrounded by great powers: Soviet Union to the north (via maritime border), China to the northwest, and the US-occupied South Korea to the south, with US military bases in Japan directly across the East Sea (Sea of Japan). Divided at the 38th parallel.	**Total UN/US embargo (1950–present)** – Comprehensive sanctions imposed during the Korean War. Followed by UN Security Council sanctions (post-2006 nuclear tuclar tests) targeting trade, fuel, and luxury goods. US unilateral sanctions have been in place since 1950 under the Trading with the Enemy Act.
Vietnam	(Anti-colonial, anti-imperialist wars)	**Colonial-Semi-feudal** Nearly 80 years of French colonialism (Indochina) created a dual economy: French-owned plantations and mining, alongside a deeply impoverished, landless peasantry. Semi-feudal landlordism persisted in the countryside.	~20–22 million (1945)	Southeastern Asian peninsula, surrounded by French Indochina (Laos, Cambodia), the South China Sea, and China to the. Later bordered the US-backed South Vietnam (1954–197S). Extremely vulnerable to naval blockade and Chinese pressure.	**Full US trade embargo (1964–1994)** – Prohibited all trade, aid, and investment. Extended to the entire unified Vietnam after 1975. Lifted in 1994 under Clinton, but arms embargo lasted until 2016. Faced severe post-war isolation in the 1980s (the "siege" period) before Doi Moi.
Cuba	1959 (Anti-semi-colonial revolutionary war)	**Neo-Colonial / Semi-feudal** US-dominated economy (sugar, nickel, utilities). Land structure: large US-owned latifundia coexisting with impoverished peasant minifundia. Highly stratified urban society with deep racial and class inequalities.	~7.02 million (1959)	Caribbean island, 90 miles (145 km) from the US mainland (Florida), flanked by the US naval base at Guantanamo Bay (occupied since 1903). Neighbors: Haiti, Jamaica, and the US-controlled Puerto Rico. Extreme vulnerability to US military and economic pressure.	**Comprehensive US embargo (1960–present)** – Initially trade restrictions, escalated to a full commercial, economic, and financial embargo (1962) under the Cuban Assets Control Regulations. Extended to a global blockade via the Helms-Burton Act (1996), penalizing foreign companies trading with Cuba. Voted against annually by the UN (over 180 nations), but remains in effect.
China (PRC)	1949 (Anti-semi-colonial revolutionary war)	**Semi-colonial / Semi-feudal** A patchwork of foreign "treaty ports" (British Hong Kong, French Guangzhouwan, Portuguese Macau, Japanese Manchuria), warlord fiefdoms, and landlord-dominated rural areas. Agrarian economy with a tiny, concentrated industrial base in Shanghai and Northeast (Manchuria).	~541–542 million (1949)	Continental giant surrounded by a hostile "anti-communist crescent": US-allied South Korea, Taiwan (ROC), US Navy's Seventh Fleet in the Pacific, British Hong Kong, the US-backed regimes in Southeast Asia (Thailand, South Vietnam), and a historically tense border with the Soviet Union (later split in 1960s). British India to the southwest.	**Full US/UN trade embargo (1950–1971)** – Imposed during the Korean War. The US prohibited all trade with China (including essential medicines) until Nixon's rapprochement [**]. The "China Differential" embargo (CoCom) remained stricter for China than for the USSR until the late 1980s. Never fully "blockaded" in the maritime sense, but heavily contained.

The existing social structure, population, and geographical situation play a decisive role in the Socialist State and in building socialism.

History teaches us that revolutions are not made in laboratories. Socialism is built in the teeth of **imperialist encirclement, economic blockade,** and ideological subversion. The task of the genuine Marxist-Leninist **is not to police the purity of socialist states from a comfortable distance,** but to study their concrete conditions, **learn from their successes and failures**, and defend them against imperialist attack—**while offering fraternal, constructive criticism where it is due.**

Regardless of the internal contradictions China faces, **one objective fact remains**: the People's Republic of China is the largest, most powerful **socialist state** on earth. Its survival and development under 75 years of US-led encirclement is **one of the greatest achievements of the international working class** in the 20th and 21st centuries. To weaken it with reckless accusations is to **weaken the entire anti-imperialist camp.**

That is the only path consistent with **proletarian internationalism.**

Conclusion

> "The revolution is not a sterile and abstract process... it is a living and concrete process." *Lenin, various works*

We began this **Dialectical investigation** with a central question: "Is China an imperialist country by Lenin's scientific definition?" The dialectical journey of this article has provided a clear, scientific answer. However, **the path to that answer has revealed a far more profound truth** about the accusation itself. Who Truly Defies Lenin?

Our investigation proceeded from the foundation to the concrete:

1. "**Theoretical Groundwork:**" We first established the objective categories of class, state, and party, defining socialism as the dictatorship of the proletariat and distinguishing it from communism. We dismantled the bourgeois myth of a fixed "human nature" and clarified that bureaucracy, under a Leninist **party**, remains an apparatus, **not a ruling class.**

2. "**Historical and Economic Context**:" We compared Lenin's NEP with China's contemporary policy, demonstrating that utilizing capitalist methods under strict proletarian state control is a Leninist tradition, not a deviation. We then stressed that deliberately conflating socialism (where bourgeois right persists) with capitalism itself is a rhetorical tactic, **not a scientific error.**

3. "**The Nature of the Accusation:**" We moved to the ideological battlefield. By examining the historical evolution from "ideological struggle" to "ideological warfare," and exposing the repeated

5th Column narratives: if China is poor, socialism fails; if China develops, it must be capitalist. This trap marks an ideology that cannot conceive of development without exploitation.

4. "**The Scientific Verdict:"** Finally, we applied Lenin's seven conditions of imperialism to China. The empirical test failed. China does not export capital primarily for super-exploitation, does not divide the world into colonies, and subordinates its finance capital to the state for internal development. The accusation failed the empirical test.

The Mechanism of the Accusation: A Violation of Marxist Norms

The final piece of the puzzle is understanding "how" these accusations are **perpetuated within the Left itself.** The accusation of "Chinese imperialism" is not just a Western capitalist narrative; **it is actively promoted by** those who claim to be Marxists but violate the fundamental norms of Marxist-Leninist criticism. This phenomenon has become an "**epidemic disease**":

"We are living in an era where, in the name of communism, criticizing the communists of other countries related to their internal affairs **has become an epidemic disease**. What is worse is that the 'criticism', more like pontification and sophistry, lands them on the side of anti-communists, fascists, monarchists, imperialists against the communists in most cases." *Erdogan, The Marxist norms and Marxist criticism among the communists and parties on international relations*

The "criticism" is not objective or constructive. **It is subjective and destructive** because it is based not on concrete analysis of

China's conditions, but **on narratives acquired from bourgeois sources.**

"Every communist, communist organization and party would know the **existing condition and situation of their own country better than those outsiders** who have no serious knowledge of culture, traditions, history and existing conditions of that given country other than the knowledge it/ he/she acquired from the bourgeois sources." *Erdogan, From Ideological struggle to ideological warfare; historical evolution*

Therefore, these criticisms cannot be considered Marxist criticism. As Lunacharsky stated:

> "Marxist criticism is a science because it opposes subjectivism... Criticism, by its nature, cannot be only negative... The Marxist critic 'removes' the wrong conception in order to form one that meets the interests of the proletariat." *Lunacharsky, Dialogue about art*

The condemnation of China as "imperialist" does not meet these criteria. **It is not scientific, objective, or constructive.** It is a **weapon of ideological warfare**, wielded by those who have abandoned their own class duty.

In the end, those who level this accusation **are not the defenders of Leninism**; they are the **inheritors of the Kautskyite-Bernsteinist tradition** that Lenin criticized over a century ago. They hide behind "ultra-left" slogans while serving the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

"The message the pontificators are giving is that **only the capitalists are capable of developing the economy**; socialists are

not. They are pontificators with ultra-left words but nothing in deeds, even in their own countries, spreading anti-communism either consciously or unconsciously." *Erdogan, The Marxist norms and Marxist criticism among the communists and parties on international relations*

Marxist-Leninists must, therefore, draw the line. The battle for the **scientific definition of imperialism is not an academic exercise.** It is a **front in the ideological warfare between socialism and capitalism**. By exposing the scientific illiteracy of those who call China "imperialist," we expose them for what they truly are: "**agents of bourgeois ideology, whether they know it or not**."

The answer to the question, "Is China an imperialist country by the definition of Lenin's Imperialism theory?", reached through dialectical materialism, scientific definition, and empirical testing, **is a resounding NO.**

China is a **socialist state** under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It meets none of Lenin's seven conditions for a scientific concept of imperialism. The accusation against it is a product of ideological warfare, rooted in a violation of Marxist-Leninist norms of criticism and a **fundamental misunderstanding of Lenin's scientific work**. Those who call China imperialist are not applying Lenin; **they are abandoning him for bourgeois propaganda.** Their accusation **confesses their own ideology.** It reveals that they cannot conceive of a world beyond exploitation, because exploitation underpins their worldview.

The task of Marxist-Leninists is clear: to defend the scientific definition of imperialism, to expose the bourgeois nature of the accusation against China, and to return to the principles of

genuine internationalism—**combating one's own bourgeoisie, not slandering socialist states.** As the dialectic teaches us, the **truth is not found in slogans or accusations but in the concrete analysis of concrete conditions.** And the concrete analysis proves: China is not imperialist. **The accusers defy Lenin.**

As Lenin instructed, "There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is—working whole-heartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle **in one's own country...**" The **struggle against imperialism begins at home**, with the exposure of the lies of **one's own bourgeoisie**—not with the slander of socialist states that are leading the fight for a multipolar world. "**He is an internationalist who** in a really internationalist way combats his own bourgeoisie, **his own social-chauvinists, his own Kautskyites.**"

> "**The correct Leninist course demands deeds, not words.**" *Enver Hoxha, various works*

The task of Marxist-Leninists is not to **police the purity of socialist states** from a comfortable distance, but **to defend them against imperialist attack,** to study their concrete conditions, and to **learn from their successes and failures.** That is the only path consistent with proletarian internationalism.

Notes

1- **Notable concession enterprises included**: The American Armand Hammer's asbestos mining concession, Japanese coal and oil concessions in Northern Sakhalin, The Swedish General Electric Company (contracted in 1927 until 1962), The Japanese Hokushinkai oil concession (until 1975)

The output share of concession enterprises varied by industry. At their peak (1925–1927), foreign enterprises **accounted for 30% to 80% of production** in certain specific product categories. However, **overall, foreign concessions** constituted a relatively small portion, roughly about 1% of total national output of the Soviet economy.

2- **Financial and Accounting Supervision**: This is the most basic line of defense. Through documents such as the "Opinions on Further Strengthening Financial and Accounting Supervision," the state requires full-process supervision of the financial and accounting activities of state-owned enterprises. This includes severely cracking down on financial fraud and fictitious economic transactions, and clearly defining disciplinary regulations for state-owned enterprise managers.

Penetrative Supervision: This is the core means of current state-owned enterprise governance. The aim is to break down information silos and achieve top-down, "full-level, full-chain, full-process, and full-element" supervision. Specific methods include:

Data Penetration: Utilizing big data and AI to automatically identify irregularities in massive transactions.

Standard Penetration: Embedding travel, hospitality, and other expense standards into the financial system to achieve intelligent approval and prevent "abuse of funds and fraudulent claims."

Business Penetration: Connecting supplier, contract, and fund systems to intercept fictitious payments.

Entity Penetration: Building a network of relationships among equity, personnel, and funds to identify irregular reimbursement issues such as "shell companies."

Budget and Revenue Management: As the owner, the state manages the revenue and expenditure of state-owned enterprises through the State-owned Capital Operation Budget system. For example, in 2025, the national state-owned capital operation budget revenue reached 854.695 billion yuan, which was used to implement national strategies and adjust the layout of the state-owned economy.

Guiding the Private Sector: Using "Mixed Ownership" and "Tax Leverage": For the large private sector, control methods are more indirect and sophisticated, focusing on guiding its development direction.

Reverse Mixed Ownership "Reform": This is a unique governance tool that allows state-owned capital to participate in private enterprises. Research has found that the entry of state-owned capital can effectively curb the "tunneling" behavior (i.e., transferring company assets) of major shareholders and reduce corporate tax avoidance.

Tax Leverage Regulation: Taxation is both a source of fiscal revenue and a policy guidance tool.

Legislative Norms: The "Law of the People's Republic of China on the Promotion of Private Economy," which will be implemented in 2025, aims to provide stable institutional expectations for the private economy through principles such as tax legality.

Precise Regulation: Reducing enterprise costs through tax reforms that streamline administration and delegate power, or using tax incentives to guide them into specific industries.

Foreign Investment Management: Delineating Boundaries with "Negative Lists" and "Security Reviews". Foreign investment management has shifted from comprehensive restrictions to a "negative list" system more in line with international practices.

Pre-establishment National Treatment + Negative List: In sectors outside the list, foreign investment enjoys the same treatment as domestic investment. Currently, the national negative list for foreign investment access has been reduced to 29 items, and restrictions on foreign investment access in the manufacturing sector have been completely eliminated.

Security Reviews and Countermeasures: While opening up general sectors, controls have been strengthened in areas involving national security and key technologies. This includes China's foreign investment security review system and also counters restrictions imposed by the United States and other countries on investment in China in areas such as integrated circuits and artificial intelligence. The aim is to prevent foreign investment from gaining control in key sectors and affecting national economic security.

3- China's legal system, from the perspective of the fundamental law of the **state, clearly defines the nature of the state and the party system**, providing the most solid legal foundation for "preventing the formation or seizure of power by a bourgeois political party. Article 1 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China clearly stipulates: "The People's Republic of

China **is a socialist state** under the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants." This excludes the possibility of a bourgeois dictatorship from the perspective of the nature of the state. The Constitution's preamble establishes that "the system of multiparty cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the Communist Party of China **will exist and develop for a long time**. This institutionally clarifies that the leadership and ruling position of the Communist Party of China is a constitutional principle.

Relevant laws explicitly prohibit the establishment of political parties **that oppose** the Communist Party's leadership and the socialist system. This sets a clear legal red line for the legitimate emergence of "bourgeois political parties". Within the constitutional framework, China implements these principles through a series of specific political systems and organizational structures. Under this system, the **Communist Party of China is the ruling party,** while the various democratic parties are participating parties. All democratic parties acknowledge and accept the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC), a fact explicitly stated in their constitutions. Democratic parties participate in political affairs through political consultation, the National People's Congress and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (NPC and CPPCC), and holding government and judicial positions. Their oversight aims to "strengthen and improve the leadership of the CPC."

4- **Albania**- Total Aid (1944–1959): The USSR advanced a total of $170.9 million to Albania. Credits (1945–1958): The total Soviet credits granted to Albania from 1945 to 1958 amounted to

742,100,000 rubles. Five-Year Plan Credits: First Five-Year Plan (1951–1955): 670 million rubles. Second Five-Year Plan (1956–1960): Over 800 million rubles. Third Five-Year Plan (1961–1965): 575 million rubles (planned, but canceled due to the 1961 split). 1959 Credit: The USSR extended a specific credit of $84 million in 1959, but canceled the unused portion in 1961.

Trade Deficit Financing: The USSR was the principal financier of Albania's chronic trade deficits, which averaged $35 million annually during 1956–60 and reached about $50 million in 1958 and 1959. Post-1960: After the Sino-Soviet split, the USSR broke off economic relations with Albania in 1961, canceling credits and withdrawing advisers

5- **Albania**- Start of Aid: China began providing aid to Albania in 1954, but most came after the 1961 Soviet-Albanian split. Early Credits: 1961: China granted a loan of $125 million.
1962: A further credit of $100 million. Total Aid (1954–1978): China provided nearly 90 billion yuan (approximately 100 billion yuan in agreement value) in economic and military aid. This included 142 complete industrial plants.
Aid Value (1958–1975): China delivered aid to Albania equivalent to 6,169,326,080 yuan (approx. 3,855,828,800 USD). Military Aid: Between 1965 and 1974, Albania received $77 million in Chinese arms. 1971 Context: In the autumn of **1971**, China provided 30 complete sets of projects to Albania in a single instance, representing nearly a quarter of all such projects from the late 1950s to the late 1970s

6- **North Korea**
Soviet/Russian Aid.

Total Economic Support (1960–1978): Soviet economic support to Cuba amounted to the equivalent of $13.6 billion. About 40% of this ($5.3 billion) consisted of repayable loans. Annual Aid (1980s): Soviet economic aid was estimated at about $4 billion, plus another $600 million in military aid, totaling about $11 million a day. 1973 Credit: A new $330 million credit was provided for capital development.

1991 Agreement: A final agreement worth $3.8 billion involved delivering 70 million barrels of oil to Cuba in exchange for sugar, citrus, nickel, and medical supplies.

Chinese Aid:

Cuba recognized the PRC in 1960 and received aid in return. However, detailed breakdowns of early Chinese aid to Cuba are scarce. In 2024, China granted Cuba $100 million in aid. In January 2026, China approved a new aid package including $80 million in emergency financial assistance and a donation of 60,000 tons of rice. This was in addition to a prior commitment of 30,000 tons of rice, bringing the total rice commitment to 90,000 tons

7-**Vietnam**

Soviet Aid:

Total Aid (1955–1974): The Soviet Union provided **1,831 million rubles** in economic assistance (1,365 million in grants, 466 million in loans).

Economic Aid (1955–1971): The USSR provided 213 million rubles in non-refundable aid and 1,000 million rubles in long-term loans.

Military Aid: By the end of the Second Indochina War, the Soviet Union supplied about **75%** of North Vietnam's military hardware. Soviet military aid in 1972 was estimated at **$355 million, dropping to $150 million** in 1973.

CIA Estimates (1955–1971): Estimated total Soviet aid to North Vietnam from 1955 to 1971 was **$2,075 million**.

Chinese Aid:

Total Aid (1955–1974): China provided 2,872 million rubles in economic assistance (2,577 million in grants, 295 million in loans)

Military Aid (1955–1963): Chinese military aid totaled $106 million.
Total Aid (1950–1970): Chinese aid to North Vietnam between 1950 and 1970 is estimated at $20 billion. China provided approximately three-quarters of the total military aid given to Hanoi since 1949.
Annual Aid (late 1960s-early 1970s): Chinese aid was roughly estimated at $200 million annually. Another source indicates Chinese aid increased from $300 million in 1970 to over $500 million in 1973.
Early Aid (1950–1954): Between May 1950 and June 1954, China provided 21,517 tons of military and economic aid9-As of mid-2026, the combined market cap of the Shanghai and Shenzhen stock exchanges is over $12 trillion USD, making it the second-largest stock market in the world behind the US. Chinese stock market is not stagnant but extremely volatile, with massive booms and busts. It serves as a fundraising mechanism for state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and strategic industries

(semiconductors, EVs, renewables). The CCP uses the stock market to **channel retail savings into priority industrial sectors**, not as a wealth-building vehicle for capitalists.

In the US, ~60% of Americans own stocks (directly or via pensions/401ks). Consumer wealth and spending are **directly tied to market performance**. In China, only about 10-12% of the population directly owns stocks. Most household wealth is tied up in real estate (over 70% of household assets). Therefore, the **Chinese stock market can crash without triggering a recession**, whereas a US crash triggers a consumption collapse.

10- **Soviet Military Aid (1949–1952):** Stalin's politburo provided **200 million rubles** worth of military aid to build up the North Korean military. **1949 Loan:** A **$40 million** loan for industrial equipment and technical assistance. **Post-War Grants (1954-56):** North Korea received $890 million in "free economic assistance" **to rebuild its economy, of which $325 million** came from the USSR. Another source mentions a 3-year grant of 1 billion rubles ($250 million) in 1953. **1960s Credits:** Grants were replaced with credits, including an **$89 million agreement for 1960-70 and a $180 million** credit at 2% interest in 1966.

Debt: By the end of 1984, North Korea's debt to the USSR stood at about **$640 million**.

Debt: By the end of 1984, North Korea's debt to China was roughly $500 million. China has been reluctant to extend new credit because of Pyongyang's poor repayment record.

Chapter 5- The Marxist norms and Marxist criticism among the communists and parties on international relations

Criticism of foreign communist parties, offered publicly and in **the name of 'internationalism,' has become endemic.** Yet this practice—when conducted without direct knowledge, constructive purpose, or comradely channels—**does not strengthen the international movement. It serves the enemy**. What is worse is that the "criticism", more like pontification and sophistry, lands them on the side of anti-communists, fascists, monarchists, and imperialists against the communists in most cases.

Although exceptions exist, **it is uncommon** to see **serious, genuine communist parties** criticize other communist parties on their theories and practices **related to internal affairs**. This applies to communists in general, whether individuals or organizations. Every communist, communist organization, and party **knows** the existing **conditions and situation of their own country** better than outsiders who have no serious knowledge of **that country's culture, traditions, history,** and conditions beyond what they a**cquired from bourgeois sources.** Bourgeois sources are never the choice of Marxist Leninists. They rely on information they gather **from the Marxist Leninists of that country** to understand what is going on there and to **inform their own population** based on that knowledge, **not on Western** Media narratives and information.

The irony is that they "criticize" communists of other countries **in the name of "internationalism".** In reality, reading these "critiques," **one cannot even get a sense of the struggles and conditions in their own countries.** They act as if they are the "international" authority, **disregarding the struggles in**

their own country. They criticize every Communist party, parties with socialist inclination and direction, every **anti-imperialist struggle**, every anti-fascist struggle **except related to their own.** They present that practice as **"internationalist" duty**. However, they forget Lenin's statement that "**Socialists in every country must** expose **their own government** and **their own bourgeoisie**...Lacking that, all talk of socialism, syndicalism**, internationalism is a sheer deception of the people**... He is an internationalist who in a **really internationalist way combats his own bourgeoisie**, his own social-chauvinists, **his own Kautskyites**". *(*)* Comparing their practice with Lenin's statement, it is easy to see that they actually are **"pacifists" within their own countries** hiding behind "ultra left" slogans and pontifications focusing on **criticizing the communists of other countries**. (*) *Lenin, Theses for an Appeal to the International Socialist Committee and All Socialist Parties*

Let's see how their actions fit with the concept of Marxist-Leninist criticism.

Marxist Criticism

"Marxist criticism", said Lunacharsky, **"is a science** because it **opposes subjectivism**, aestheticism, individualism, irrationalism, and other vices of bourgeois aesthetics. Criticism, by its nature, **cannot be only negative**, aimed at exposing some vicious concept. **Even in denial**, the Marxist **critic pursues positive goals**, **offers constructive solutions**. The Marxist critic "**removes" the wrong conception** in order to **form one that meets the interests of the proletariat**." *(2)*

Criticism of foreign parties fails this test when it:

- Lacks objective knowledge of concrete conditions
- Offers no constructive, context-specific solutions
- Relies on bourgeois sources for information
- Is conducted publicly rather than through comradely channels

When criticism meets none of the criteria for scientific Marxist criticism, it is not criticism at all. It is pontification—and, objectively, it is sabotage."

Reading through the criticism of these pontificators, one can **see neither objectivism** nor **constructive solutions**. They cannot be objective **because** they have no way of knowing the objective truth and concrete conditions of a country **thousands of miles away**. It is subjective because they rely on secondary or tertiary sources, in most cases, **imperialist bourgeois sources.** As far as coming up with "constructive solutions" , they cannot come up with one in their "critic for the same reason. They have to have objective knowledge of concrete conditions and **objective truth of that given country** in order to make an objective analysis and come up with "constructive solutions". That is why their critiques cannot go beyond petty bourgeois pontification and thus cannot be considered Marxist Criticism because "being a science, **Marxist criticism builds its conclusions in the form of concepts** and logical conclusions, that is, **it uses scientific tools**" *(*)* which **prerequisite** the knowledge for objective analysis of objective conditions. * (2) *Lunacharsky, the formation of Marxist criticism*

The confusion of the **difference between criticism** among the communists **within a given country** and criticism of the communists of other countries manifests itself sharply in the practice of these pontificators. They do not focus on the struggle **within their own country** but on critiquing struggles in other countries. That has become a way **to escape from their responsibilities** and duties within their own countries, hiding behind the mask of "internationalism". However, Lenin defined socialist internationalism differently;

> **"There is one,** and only one, kind of **real internationalism**, and that is—**working whole-heartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement** and the revolutionary struggle **in one's own country,** and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) this struggle, **this, and only this, line,** in every country without exception."

Marxist Leninist parties proceed from the principle that **differences and misunderstandings** may arise among various parties and states, even when they have relations of close friendship. In case of differences, problems and conflicting situations, Communist Parties of countries **settle their differences** on a Marxist-Leninist road, through mutual consultations and comradely explanations, **never making them public.** This **principle** should be applied between **socialist countries** and **between communist parties.**

Marxist-Leninist norms regulate relations among communist parties. Based on Marxist-Leninist norms, criticism of mistakes observed in the line and the activity of this or that party should be **objective, reciprocal, principled, constructive, and in a**

comradely manner. Criticism is not **to dictate and impose** one's views on others, especially on the smaller parties of other countries. Criticism should be **constructive and defend the struggles** of the Communists, anti-imperialists, and anti-fascists and the fate of the revolution if they were successful in their struggles.

What we witness in our days, however the pontificating of so-called "communists" carrying out the **bourgeois concept of "criticism"** either with a bourgeois "balanced" approach to the events, or totally siding with the imperialists, fascists, and anti-communists. Their criticism is neither objective nor **constructive**. In most cases, criticisms are made **in the name of communists** against communists **on the side of anti-communists**.

If and when they are cornered, the pontificators, who in most cases are Kautskyite-Bernsteinists, better to say "NED-Communists"*, call on the slogan of **"freedom of criticism"**, and "internationalist duty" as their defense. As we have seen, interfering in the internal communist affairs of another country has **nothing to do with internationalism** or " freedom of criticism" in the Marxist-Leninist sense.

**NED-Communists"—a term referring to individuals and organizations funded, directly or indirectly, by the U.S. National Endowment for Democracy and similar institutions that use 'democracy promotion' as a cover for ideological warfare against socialist and anti-imperialist movements.*

We are not living in the **early 1900s,** where Marxism and Leninism were in their early stages of spreading and maturing. We live in the first quarter of the 2000s, when **almost every country**

has its own communist parties or organizations, each with different degrees of experience and maturity. However, ideological struggle never ends. As in the early 1900s, today too Kautskyites-Bernsteinists **under different disguises** cry out for "freedom of criticism". What Lenin criticized in 1901-02 remains an ongoing subject between those who defend the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and those who try to revise it in a way acceptable to, and for the benefit of, the bourgeoisie, especially the imperialist bourgeoisie.

"**Freedom of criticism",** said Lenin, " is undoubtedly **the most fashionable slogan at the present time,** and the one most frequently employed in the controversies between the Socialists and democrats of all countries." *(4)* Giving due credit to them, Kautskyites-Bernsteinists **have long history and experience in presenting themselves as the defenders** of Marxism-Leninism after the death of Lenin." In fact, it is no secret that two trends have taken shape in the present-day international" said Lenin then, and continued ;" What this "new" trend, which adopts a "critical" attitude towards "obsolete dogmatic" Marxism, represents has with sufficient precision been stated by Bernstein, and demonstrated by Millerand…The very conception, "ultimate aim," was declared to be unsound, and the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat was absolutely rejected…He who does not deliberately close his eyes cannot fail to see that the **new "critical" trend in Socialism is nothing more nor less than a new variety of opportunism**." *Lenin, What is to Be Done, Dogmatism And "Freedom Of Criticism"*

Liberalism that makes up the essence of **opportunism** in theory and practice has become the dominating trend of the

pontificators hiding behind ultra-left slogans and as the critics of communists of other countries.

All of the above concerns external criticism—the public critique of one country's communist party by others. This is categorically different from internal criticism, which is a necessary and healthy part of party life within a given country.

As Stalin noted, a party is invincible if it does not fear criticism and self-criticism, learns from its mistakes, and corrects them in time. (5) This internal process may be conducted publicly, within the national context. But on the international level, as long as the question is an internal affair of a sovereign party, public criticism is impermissible unless it meets the stringent criteria of objectivity, constructiveness, and comradely purpose—and even then, private channels are the norm."

Internal criticism is a different question, but it still rests on the same Marxist-Leninist norms. Criticism and self-criticism, which belong to the very heart of the Marxist dialectical method, mean that **theory and practice must always be matched up** with one another, and it should be **constructive and conclusive**. "A party is invincible," wrote Stalin, "if it does not fear criticism and self-criticism, if it does not gloss over the mistakes and defects in its work, if it teaches and educates its cadres by **drawing the lessons** from the mistakes in party work, and if it knows how to correct its mistakes in time." (5) *Stalin, The National Question and Leninism*

In internal criticism this may be done publicly, but on international scale, as long as the question is an internal affair of a country, **it cannot be made publicly** unless it is an objective,

reciprocal, principled, constructive criticism structured in a comradely manner which **will not turn into an unending abstract polemic** and will be used by the imperialist bourgeoisie for their own interests in their ideological warfare against communism.

The latest events, especially since the "protests in Cuba," what we have been experiencing is pontification of the Kautskyites-Bernsteinists against the communists and communist parties. This is being carried out in the name of communism against the communists, anti-imperialists, and anti-fascists. This, indeed, is being carried out from the ranks of the imperialist bourgeois block with criticism prettified with Marxist-Leninist brushes.

Reiterating Lenin's words;

"**Socialists in every country must** expose **their own government** and **their own bourgeoisie**...Lacking that, all talk of socialism, syndicalism**, internationalism is a sheer deception of the people**... He is an internationalist who in a **really internationalist way combats his own bourgeoisie**, his own social-chauvinists, **his own Kautskyites**".

Because, again in Lenin's words;

"There is one, and only one, kind of **real internationalism**, and that is—**working whole-heartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement** and the revolutionary struggle **in one's own country,** and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) this struggle, **this, and only this, line,** in every country without exception." *Lenin, The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution*

All these petty bourgeois, arrogant, know-it-all **pontificators should be exposed,** and their **poisonous critiques** of communists should be debunked by explaining that their criticism of communists of other countries has nothing to do with internationalism or freedom of criticism but everything to do with **serving the interests of imperialist bourgeoisie against the interests of progressive forces.** Although it is a well-known fact, they should be exposed for hiding behind these criticisms to conceal their pacifist, reformist approaches in their own countries.

According to pontificators:

- every other communist party and/or organization in the world is **inferior to them** and either revisionist, **opportunist,** or "**fake communists**" so that they **have to dictate and impose their own subjective views on them.** It is subjective because they look at them through Western arrogant, condescending **petty bourgeois glasses,** assuming the **West is the World** and only their culture, norms, and history count in analyzing and determining everything.

- **Since they themselves, with their vast "knowledge,"** couldn't have (*never mind defeating fascism in some cases*) built socialism in their own country, then **the others** can't do so.

- If in a country **where the political power** is in the hands of Communists, and it **is not developed economically,** they are not "genuine" communists, **and yet, if they succeed in developing** their economy, **then they are capitalists, not communists.**

The pattern is consistent: if a communist-led country is economically underdeveloped, the pontificators declare it not 'genuinely' socialist. If it develops successfully, they declare it capitalist. The implicit message is that only capitalists can develop economies—socialists cannot. This is not Marxism; it is anti-communism disguised as critique.

They are pontificators with ultra-left words but nothing in deeds, even in their own countries, spreading **anti-communism** either consciously or unconsciously.

As Enver Hoxha pointed out, " **the correct Leninist course demands deeds, not words...**"

This confusion between **legitimate internal struggle** and **illegitimate external warfare** is not accidental. It is the very mechanism through which capitalist ideological warfare operates—dividing socialists, discrediting anti-imperialist struggles, and turning communists against one another. Recognizing this is the first condition for unity.

Chapter 6 - Addressing (Marxist-Leninist) Stalinist-Hoxhaist Counterarguments

Below is an outline of "devil's advocate" and sincere, legitimate arguments raised.

1: The "Amputation" of Lenin's 4th and 5th Conditions

> By excluding Lenin's 4th condition (international monopolist cartels) and 5th condition (territorial division of the world among great powers), you have constructed **a tailored yardstick**. Even if the 5th describes the initial division, a new imperialist aspirant must inevitably seek the re-division of that already-divided world. By dropping these conditions, you avoid measuring China's challenge to US-led spheres of influence (South China Sea, AIIB vs. IMF/WB). This is not an update; it is an acquittal before the trial.

Response:

The 4th and 5th conditions are **historical descriptors of the imperialist camp in 1916**—they describe the **completion of a specific phase,** not an **eternal law for new entrants.** Lenin himself taught that the law of uneven development **produces new imperialists.** The question is not whether China challenges the old division, but how. **The 5th condition** referred to formal colonial annexation and cartel agreements. **China engages in neither.** The objective test for a new imperialist is not whether it challenges **the old map,** but whether it possesses the offensive military apparatus **to re-draw it**. China does not. The

historicization of the 5th condition is **dialectically necessary, not revisionist.**

2: "Morphological Empiricism" – Confusing Symptoms with Essence

> Your 7-point synopsis defines imperialism by the symptoms of its senile **decay—deindustrialization**, consumer-dependency, permanent foreign military occupation. This fits the US/UK perfectly, but it is a gerontological definition. It fails to diagnose ascendant monopoly capital (Germany 1916, Japan 1980s, or potentially **China today)**, which remains a producer while still extracting super profits globally. By **equating imperialism with decay**, you grant theoretical immunity to any rising power that still manufactures goods.

Response

This is not empiricism; **it is Stalin's general law of motion derived from the post-WWII era.** Stalin demonstrated that finance capital, in its **inevitable drive** to export production for cheap labor, **must deindustrialize** the home economy and turn it into a **consumer-rentier state.** This is **not a symptom of decay**—it is the objective material **transformation of the imperialist economy**. China has not undergone this transformation. Its economy **remains a producer-economy** serving its domestic laborers and peasants. To call **a producer-state "imperialist"** based on its **future potential** is to **abandon the materialist method for subjective forecasting.**

Counterargument 3: The Collapse of Stalin's Bipolar Division – A "Militarizing Producer"

> Stalin's framework assumed a geopolitical separation: the imperialist camp (consumer, financier, militarist) vs. the socialist/national-bourgeois camp (producer, non-militarist). China in 2026 breaks this bipolarity—it is the world's largest producer, yet it is rapidly militarizing (second-largest defense budget, blue-water navy, overseas bases). Stalin's law predicted that militarization follows decay (military Keynesianism to absorb uncompetitive surplus). China militarizes while being hyper-competitive. This peculiar contradiction—a militarizing producer—suggests a new category that your binary does not capture.

Response

Stalin's law of militarization **applies to the imperialist camp. China's militarization** is not driven by the need to absorb surplus capital (its productive economy is healthy), but by the **objective necessity** of breaking US encirclement. This is **defensive re-armament, not offensive subjugation.** The quality and range of China's military apparatus -lacking **permanent offensive bases,** lacking **power-projection for regime-change**, lacking the capacity to **subordinate distant nations** -proves its defensive character. A defensive military posture in a producer-state **is not a contradiction of Stalin's law**; it is the confirmation of China's exclusion from the imperialist camp.

Counterargument 4: The "Geographic Chauvinism" – Proletarian for Chinese Workers, Bourgeois for Foreign Workers

> Even if China's state **remains proletarian internally,** its foreign coercive actions (debt-trap infrastructure, mineral

extraction in the DRC, South China Sea restrictions) objectively subordinate foreign labor to Chinese state-capital. **If China is not actively emancipating foreign workers** - and is instead negotiating terms that favor Chinese accumulation - then it is not a proletarian-internationalist state; **it is a national-bourgeois state with a socialist domestic core.** This is the very "social-chauvinism" that historically preceded social-imperialism.

Response:

The unity of domestic and foreign policy is absolute—**they cannot diverge** *(see Lenin)***.** If the state is proletarian at home (four pillars intact, land socialized, planning dominant), **its foreign policy cannot be imperialist in essence**, because it lacks the material drive to subordinate foreign labor for private profit. However, **this does not mean its foreign policy is perfectly internationalist** -it is forced **chauvinism.** China operates under a US-imposed blockade, forced to secure resources and trade routes for its own survival. This is the **material reality of a socialist state** in a capitalist world. **It only becomes social-imperialism** if the internal **four pillars erode** - a condition we vigilantly monitor. **We judge the present, not the paranoid future.**

Counterargument 5: Integration into the Imperialist Market – The "Junior Partner" Thesis

> A socialist state that deeply integrates into the WTO, IMF, SWIFT, holds US Treasury bonds, and trades extensively with US/NATO states **is not a counter-pole to imperialism** - **it is a national-bourgeois state playing the inter-imperialist game defensively**. Lenin and Stalin tolerated

such integration only tactically (Brest-Litovsk), **not as a permanent structural feature**. China's permanent integration suggests its internal class-character has already shifted toward state-monopoly capitalism, regardless of its defensive rhetoric.

Response

This integration **is not partnership**; it is strategic penetration of the enemy's rear. **Lenin's Brest-Litovsk** proved that tactical retreats and economic accommodations **are permissible when the correlation of forces demands it**. China uses imperialist markets to acquire technology, foreign exchange, and time - **not to subordinate its socialist base to global finance**. The proof is in the four pillars: they remain unshaken**. Land is socialized, the state directs the commanding heights, planning subordinates the market, and workers retain formal control.** The moment China privatizes land or abolishes state planning to please the IMF, we will **change our assessment**. **That moment has not arrived.**

Counterargument 6: The "Becoming vs. Being" Temporal Trap – Static Formalism

> **Lenin did not wait** for Germany to have a global navy equal to Britain's **before calling it imperialist in 1916**. He analyzed its emerging finance capital, accelerating naval buildup, and stated ambitions. China today is building an aircraft carrier fleet, expanding its navy, and establishing overseas logistics hubs at a rate unprecedented since 1945. **To wait until it completes this transformation** before applying the label is **static formalism** -ignoring

the **dialectics of process.** If it walks like a duck and builds the beak of a duck, call it a duck-in-becoming.

Response

Marxists proceed from **what is real, not from what is possible**. A **tendency is not a reality**. Lenin analyzed Germany in 1916 **because it already possessed a global network of colonies**, a massive offensive navy, and **a declared war policy for re-division**. China possesses none of these today. It has one logistics base (Djibouti), a defensive naval doctrine, and **no colonies or military satellites.** Building capacity **for defense** against encirclement is not the same as building capacity **for subjugation**. If China establishes offensive bases in the Atlantic or deploys troops for regime-change, **we will apply the label without hesitation**. But **we do not substitute objective present reality** with **subjective futurism** -that is the **method of the Trotskyite adventurist**, not **the Leninist scientist.**

From Other debates**;**

1-The question of Chinese Chauvinism

Distinguishing Between "National Chauvinism" and "Social-Imperialism" – The Materialist Criterion.

Stalin made a crucial distinction in Marxism and the National Question:

Proletarian internationalism is the goal.

Defensive national chauvinism is the **forced** posture of a single socialist state surrounded by a hostile imperialist world.

The USSR under Stalin traded with capitalist Germany in the 1920s, bought American machinery, and even collaborated with the Allies in WWII. Was that "integration into the imperialist division of labor"? Yes. **Was it social-imperialism?** No. It was survival tactics—a temporary, coercive accommodation to a world **where capitalism still dominated the seas, finance, and technology.**

The materialist litmus *(ideological threshold)* test is not "Does the socialist state trade with or rely on imperialist markets?", Lenin's Brest-Litovsk proved that is sometimes unavoidable. The litmus test is: "Does the state's participation in the global market **serve to strengthen its internal socialist base** (planning, workers' control, land reform), or does it **serve to transform** that base into a mere appendix of global finance?"

If China trades with the US and buys US Treasury bonds in order to stabilize its currency, secure technology imports, and buy time to build its own indigenous productive forces – **that is defensive chauvinism.** It is ugly and contradictory, but materially necessary for survival against US encirclement.

If China were to **privatize its land, abolish workers' control, and deregulate its finance in exchange for IMF loans** – that would **signal the transition to social-imperialism.** That has not happened, but **its possibility is always there** as the Soviets have proven after Stalin's death.

2. The "Junior Partner" Thesis is Geopolitically Illiterate – You Are Not a Partner; You Are a Hostage.

The phrase "**junior partner** in the imperialist division of labor" implies a **voluntary, mutually beneficial integration**. But China

did not *choose* to integrate with the WTO **out of ideological affinity**; it *negotiated* entry under duress, because the US and EU **held the global financial levers**.

China is a socialist state **forced to maneuver within the imperialist market system** to break the US blockade, using every asymmetrical advantage (labor cost, state planning, scale) to accumulate strength without surrendering its political independence or socialist property relations. This is not partnership; this is **protracted defensive warfare on the economic front**. The US allows China into its supply chains only because US capital extracts super profits from Chinese labor. **China tolerates this extraction** because it buys time, technology, and foreign exchange to eventually decouple.

China's global integration is not "subordination," but "**strategic penetration of the enemy's rear**" – using imperialist markets to feed the socialist base, just as the Red Army used captured Kuomintang weapons.

3. Are You Exporting Revolution or Just Commodities?

> Enver Hoxha's critique of the USSR was: "They export oil and grain, but **they do not export revolution**." China does not fund foreign communist parties. It does not call for insurrection in Washington or London.

As far as I know, Enver Hoxha wouldn't say that, because "**exporting revolution**" is an anti-Marxist-Leninist, Trotskyite concept. He most likely said that the USSR exported oil and grain, acted as a bourgeois state exploiting others while ceasing **to support** liberation struggles.

Some critics, often those influenced by Trotskyite adventurism, charge that China fails to 'export revolution' through state or military means. This accusation is not merely incorrect; **it is anti-Marxis**t. As Engels, Lenin, and Stalin affirmed, **revolution cannot and must not be imposed from outside**; it is the product of internal class struggles. Internationalism means supporting those struggles through solidarity, propaganda, and material aid, not using state armies to dictate revolutions abroad. To demand that China's export revolution by force is **to demand the very imperialist behavior we condemn** in the US. We dismiss this critique as fundamentally un-Leninist.

A legitimate Hoxhaist critique does not demand military export of revolution; it demands that a **socialist state not participate** in the economic subjugation of weaker nations through debt, resource extraction, or **trade terms that mimic imperialist exploitation**. This is the true warning: a socialist state must avoid becoming a rentier extractor, even if its motives are defensive against US encirclement. **China's record on this is debated,** and we watch for the four pillars as the **final safeguard against such degeneration.**

We do not dismiss these critiques as bourgeois slander; they are serious materialist questions **raised within the Leninist-Hoxhaist tradition**. Each has been answered not by rhetoric, but by the **concrete reality of China's state-property relations**, its **non-offensive military posture**, its producer-economy, and its **unified domestic-foreign policy** of survival against US encirclement.

The dialectical warning remains: if the four pillars fall, the defensive posture will inevitably become offensive, because

monopoly capital requires subjugation, and **we will denounce China as imperialist without hesitation**. But w**e do not convict a state for a crime it has not yet committed.**

Today, China is not imperialist. But the pressure to become one through **defensive chauvinism** hardening into **offensive social-imperialism**, **is immense.** The only firewall against that outcome is the **state's proletarian character.** If state control and planning are abandoned and workers lose control of the bureaucracy, then the 'defensive' posture will inevitably morph into an 'offensive' one, because **capitalist states, by their nature, cannot survive without subjugating others.** Marxists must therefore defend China's internal socialist gains **precisely to prevent it from becoming** the very thing **we fight against**.

Chapter 7-Overall Conclusion

7.1-The Central Question and Its Significance

This study began with a deceptively simple question: **Is China an imperialist country by Lenin's scientific definition of imperialism?** The answer required far more than a superficial comparison of economic indicators or a repetition of learned-by-rote slogans. It demanded **a comprehensive application of the dialectical method**—a method that, as Lenin insisted, "proceeds by means of a thorough, detailed analysis of a process **in all its concreteness**." The question could not be answered through **abstract formulas**; it required the full weight of **Marxist-Leninist methodology:** dialectical materialism, concrete analysis of concrete conditions, scientific definition, and proletarian internationalism.

The significance of this question extended **far beyond academic debate.** The accusation that China is imperialist **has become a weapon in the ideological warfare** waged by capitalist states against the socialist world. It is used to divide the anti-imperialist camp, to discredit the largest and most powerful socialist state, and to **obscure the true nature of US-led imperialism.** For Marxist-Leninists, therefore, the question **is not merely theoretical**—it is a question of class duty.

7.2-The Threefold Burden of Proof

The accuser must meet a threefold burden of proof: (1) that **China is a capitalist country**, (2) that the Communist Party of China constitutes **a new "bourgeois" class** ruling in its own interest, and (3) that **China meets** each of the seven conditions

of Lenin's **scientific definition of imperialism**. This work has demonstrated that the accusers fail at every stage.

The first requirement—proving China is capitalist—**cannot be met because capitalism's defining feature is private ownership of the means of production**. In China, the commanding heights of the economy remain under **state ownership and control,** and the dictatorship of the proletariat holds political power. **The second requirement**—proving the CCP is a "**new bourgeois class**"—**collapses under Marx's definition of class**: a class is defined by its relationship to the means of production. Party leaders do not own the means of production; **they administer** them on the people's behalf. **The third requirement**—applying Lenin's seven conditions—fails because China does not meet the material conditions of imperialism: **no finance capital dominance**, no **deindustrialization,** no **offensive militarization**, no global military projection, **no colonial subjugation.**

The accusation, therefore, **is not a scientific observation.** It is a product of **ideological warfare**, rooted in a fundamental misunderstanding of Lenin's scientific work and a **violation of Marxist-Leninist norms of criticism.**

7.3-The Methodological Foundation: Dialectics vs. Sophistry

Throughout this work, we have insisted on a distinction crucial to understanding the contemporary battlefield: the distinction between **ideological "struggle"** and **ideological "warfare"**. Ideological struggle is the internal process within working-class movements—debates over theory, strategy, and tactics conducted among comrades seeking revolutionary clarity. **Ideological warfare** is the external, organized conflict between capitalist

and socialist systems—a battle waged by states and their institutions using propaganda, media manipulation, and cultural influence to destroy socialist alternatives.

The critical error facing the contemporary Left is **treating these as identical.** When communist parties engage in "ideological warfare" against fellow socialists of other countries—publicly criticizing their internal affairs, imposing foreign perspectives, and amplifying narratives that serve capitalist propaganda—**they abandon the terrain of legitimate struggle** and **become unwitting participants in the enemy's campaign.**

This confusion is not accidental. It is **the very mechanism through which capitalist ideological warfare operates:** dividing socialists, discrediting anti-imperialist struggles, and turning communists against one another. Recognizing this distinction is the first condition for unity.

7.4-The Scientific Definition of Imperialism Reconstructed

The Economic Aspect: Necessary but Insufficient

Lenin's definition of imperialism in “Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism” was, **as he himself noted, limited to the economic aspect:** "the pamphlet was written with an eye to the tsarist censorship. Hence, I was not only forced to confine myself strictly to an exclusively theoretical, specifically economic analysis of facts." The economic essence of imperialism lies in:

1. The concentration of production and capital developed to such a high stage that it has created **monopolies which play a decisive role** in economic life;

2. The merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this "**finance capital,**" of a financial oligarchy;

3. The **export of capital** as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance.

These economic features are **essential but incomplete**. As Lenin stated: "imperialism can and must be defined differently if we bear in mind **not only** the basic, purely economic concepts—to which the above definition is limited." The economic definition alone **cannot distinguish between monopoly capitalism** and imperialism proper. A country may fit the economic definition—monopoly capital, capital export—**without being imperialist** in the scientific, combined sense.

The Political Aspect: The Essential Complement

The political definition of an imperialist state may be summarized as "**the systematic militarization of the economy,** converting productive capacity into **instruments of subjugation**, while financial/tech/trade systems are **weaponized to sustain global dominance.**" This political aspect is not an add-on but **an essential component of the scientific concept.** As Lenin insisted: "there can be no concrete historical analysis of war, unless it is based on a thorough analysis of the nature of imperialism, **both in its economic and political aspects**."

The political aspect of imperialism manifests itself through:

1. "**Militarization of the Economy**": The conversion of productive capacity to war footing, with military industry becoming the primary engine of economic growth;

2. “Offensive Military Posturing”: Not merely defense of territory but projection of power to subjugate other nations;

3. “Perpetual Conflict”: The need for unending conflicts and wars to feed the military-industrial complex;

4. “Use of Force as Policy”: The use of force—whether direct war, proxy war, or economic strangulation—as a continuation of economic policy.

The scientific definition of imperialism is the dialectical unity of these economic and political aspects. A country cannot be properly designated "imperialist" unless it meets both sets of criteria.

The Historical Evolution of Imperialist Wars

The character of wars changes with the character of capitalism itself. During Marx and Engels' time, wars were primarily bourgeois-democratic against feudalism and dynastic empires. The bourgeoisie was historically progressive in dismantling feudalism, making anti-colonial wars objectively progressive. Lenin's analysis during World War I showed that capitalism had become reactionary: "Formerly progressive, capitalism has become reactionary." The task of socialists was no longer to support one bourgeois side against another but to utilize the conflict against all international finance capital through revolutionary defeatism.

Stalin's analysis of World War II showed the need to distinguish between **aggressive and non-aggressive imperialists**. "A distinguishing feature of the new crisis," he said, "is that it differs in many respects from the preceding one, and, moreover, differs

for the worse and not for the better." Together, the non-aggressive countries were stronger than the fascist states, both economically and militarily. Yet they rejected collective security and took a position of "neutrality." Stalin's policy was **to "utilize" the contradictions between imperialist powers** for the interests of the proletariat—supporting the non-aggressive imperialists against the aggressive ones.

This historical survey shows that Marxist-Leninists' attitude to war must be **determined by concrete analysis of concrete conditions.** As Lenin said: "depending on historical conditions, the relationship of classes and similar data, the attitude towards war must be different at different times." No ready-made schema applies to all wars. The fundamental question is always: **Where do the interests of the proletariat lie?**

The NEP Precedent: The Leninist Tradition of Utilizing Capitalist Methods

What Was the NEP?

The New Economic Policy (NEP), introduced by Lenin in 1921, replaced War Communism with a mixed economy. It allowed limited private trade, small-scale private industry, and foreign concessions, **while the state retained control of large-scale industry, banking, transport, and foreign trade.** Lenin called this "state capitalism" under proletarian control—a strategic retreat to rebuild the productive forces devastated by civil war and foreign intervention.

Lenin's logic was clear: "The Soviet government drove out the Russian landlords and capitalists, and now it invites foreign capitalists—is this right? Yes, it is, because if the workers' revolution

in other countries is delayed, we will have to make certain sacrifices, solely to rapidly—even immediately—**improve the condition of the workers and peasants.**"

The NEP was not a surrender to capitalism but a calculated maneuver. As Bukharin explained: "Through concessions, we allow individual foreign capitalists to make profits, but we weaken world capital as a whole, because in our struggle against it, we strengthen Russia by additionally acquiring technical equipment, and thus we change the balance of forces." The **bourgeoisie brought not capital but "the ability to operate** within market economic relations". Production remained in socialist hands, but market linkages fell into bourgeois hands. This was, as Larin put it, "**paying tuition fees.**"

China's Socialist Market Economy: The Dialectical Continuation

China's Reform and Opening-up, starting in 1978, operated on an identical theoretical logic: dismantling the ultra-centralized Soviet-style **wartime command economy**, allowing township-village enterprises, private firms, and massive foreign direct investment, **while keeping banking, energy, telecom, defense, and infrastructure firmly under state/public ownership**. In both cases, the Party/State retained ultimate political control. The bourgeoisie is not allowed to form an independent political party or take over the state apparatus. **Capital is strictly subordinated to political directives**: industrial policy, five-year plans, poverty alleviation, technological self-reliance.

The scale and duration differ: the NEP lasted about seven years; China's EP has lasted over forty years and integrated a **colossal**

population into global capitalism. The NEP operated in a largely isolated global system; China's reforms occurred during the peak of neoliberal globalization. But the principle remains identical: the political power of the proletarian state subordinates the economic power of capital. **The difference is one of degree, not of kind.**

State Capitalism Under Proletarian Control Is Not Imperialism

Data on "political capital" and "private capital" shows that **China's state dominates capital**, not the reverse. This **inverts** imperialist finance capital. China's economic policy—domestic welfare, resource security, and mutual development—**proves its anti-imperialist character.**

Those who call China "imperialist" confuse participation in the global market with domination of the global market, in which the State regulates private capital, and replace investment for domestic welfare and mutual benefit with investment for superprofits and exploitation.

This confusion is not a scientific error; it results from **ideological warfare.**

Testing China Against the Seven Conditions: The Scientific Verdict

Condition 1: Monopolization of All Major Industries Under Finance Capital Dominance

China's state-owned enterprises occupy 27 of the top 30 positions and account for over 60% of infrastructure investment. State capital dominates strategic industries such as energy, transportation, communications, and finance. However, this is a

“state” monopoly rather than a “private financial capital” monopoly. The Party and state institutions, not private financial oligarchs, hold decision-making power. This differs fundamentally from Lenin's description of "finance capital rule" in terms of ownership and control.

“Verdict: Not met.” State monopoly exists, but it is not a private financial capital monopoly.

Condition 2: Formation of State Capitalism to Consolidate State Institutions

While Chinese SOEs pursue profits, they also bear policy objectives. The government uses SOEs to implement industrial policies, drive technological innovation, and execute strategic development tasks. This model can be described as a "state-led market economy." However, whether it constitutes "state capitalism" depends on how you define it. If "state capitalism" means the state serves capital accumulation, then it does exhibit certain features. But if it means the state itself has become the executive committee of the bourgeoisie, that does not align with China's ownership structure.

“Verdict: Not met.” **The state plays a dominant role in the economy,** but **the ownership structure is not capitalist.**

Condition 3: Export of Capital and Control of International Financial Institutions

China is indeed one of the world's major capital exporters. ODI flow reached $192.2 billion USD in 2024, with a global share of 11.9%, covering 190 countries and regions. However, **regarding control of international financial institutions**, China's voting

rights in the IMF and the World Bank are far lower than those of the United States. The AIIB and the New Development Bank, which China helped establish, are supplementary arrangements and **have not yet created monopolistic control** over the **international financial system.**

"Verdict: Partially met (capital export) / Not met (control of international finance)."

Condition 4: Deindustrialization—Shifting Production for Cheap Labor

China's manufacturing share has declined from its peak of 38.5% (1997) to 24.9% (2024). However, this **remains much higher** than that of typically "deindustrialized" countries like the US (approx. 11%) and the UK (approx. 9%). China has remained the world's **largest manufacturing nation** for 15 consecutive years, and the value-added of high-tech manufacturing grew by 8.9%. This indicates that **China has not experienced "deindustrialization"** in the classic sense; the decline in manufacturing share is a natural result of economic structural evolution (the rising share of the service sector), **not industrial hollowing-out.**

"Verdict: Not met." Manufacturing share is 24.9%; remains the world's largest manufacturing nation.

Condition 5: Offensive, Aggressive Militarization

China's military expenditure as a share of GDP (1.27%–1.71%) is below the global average (1.8%) and far below NATO's 2% target. The US spends 3.4% of GDP on its military. While China's military spending has grown for 30 consecutive years, its share of GDP has remained below 1.5% for a long period. In terms of

military spending as a share of GDP, China does not display the characteristics of a "war economy."

“Verdict: Not met.” **Military spending** as a percentage of GDP is **below the global average and NATO target.**

Condition 6: Transition from Producer to Consumer Country

China's manufacturing sector accounts for 24.9% of GDP, and it remains the world's largest manufacturing producer. China is also the world's largest importer of natural resources and depends heavily on resource imports. However, **China has not transitioned from a "producer" to a "consumer" country**—it remains the core production node of global supply chains. China's global leadership in new energy (electric vehicles, batteries, solar power) further reinforces its role as a producer.

“Verdict: Not met.” Remains the world's largest producer.

Condition 7: Permanent Military Export and Global Subjugation

China has **only one overseas logistics-support military base** (in Djibouti), and it serves logistical replenishment, **not combat deployment**. Compared to the US's approximately 800 overseas military bases and permanent stationing of hundreds of thousands of troops, China's overseas military presence is negligible. UN peacekeeping operations are international obligations within a multilateral framework and are not "imperialist" military exports in an aggressive sense.

“Verdict: Not met.” Only one overseas logistics base.

China does have large-scale **capital exports and state monopolies,** but it lacks the **prerequisite of "bourgeois control of the**

state" as well as the key characteristics of **offensive military expansion** and **deindustrialization**. Having tested China against the seven conditions as they exist in **present material reality,** and finding them unmet, the scientific case is closed.

"China is not imperialist by Lenin's scientific definition."

7.5-The Qualitative Question: Is China Socialist?

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The **defining feature of socialism** is the dictatorship of the proletariat—the political power of the working class. As Lenin stated: "The transition from capitalism to Socialism will certainly create a **great variety and abundance of political forms,** but their **essence** will inevitably be the same: the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Stalin elaborated the three aspects of the dictatorship of the proletariat:

1. The utilization of the power of the proletariat for the **suppression of exploiters** and the **defense of the country;**

2. The **detachment of the toiling and exploited masses** from the bourgeoisie and the consolidation of the alliance of the proletariat with these masses;

3. The **organization of Socialism**, for the abolition of classes, for the transition to a society without classes.

In China, the dictatorship of the proletariat remains intact. The Communist Party is the working class's vanguard. State-owned enterprises control the commanding heights of the economy. The state directs economic planning through five-year plans

and industrial policies. Production serves domestic welfare, not super-profits. A socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be imperialist by definition.

7.6-The Seven General Laws of Building Socialism

Stalin summarized the general laws of building socialism as:

1. The dictatorship of the proletariat, the workers' and peasants' State;

2. Socialised property of the main instruments and means of production;

3. Nationalisation of all capitalist banks;

4. The scientific and planned conduct of the national economy from a single center;

5. Obligatory domination of Marxist-Leninist ideology;

6. Creation of armed forces for defense of the revolution;

7. Ruthless armed suppression of counter-revolutionaries and foreign agents.

China meets all seven criteria. Adapting these laws to concrete conditions does not negate their application—it is the very essence of Leninism. As Stalin himself instructed: "**in the building of socialism it is necessary to take into consideration the specific features of a particular country**."

The Four Pillars of Socialist Practice

Through decades of study, I have come to believe that there are four fundamental indications of the direction of socialism in a country:

1. Free and compulsory education as an investment in the future;

2. The provision of basic medical insurance for all;

3. The guarantee of work as a matter of state policy;

4. The provision of free or affordable housing as a social right.

China has built the **world's largest basic medical insurance** network covering over **1.3 billion people**—approximately 95% of the population. Education is compulsory and tuition-free through nine years. The government has lifted **over 700 million people out of poverty** in recent decades, largely through employment creation. The "dual-track" housing system ensures affordability. While China's approach to "affordability" differs from the classical model of "totally free" **in smaller planned economies**, it **adapts to scale** and global market integration, not a retreat from socialism.

Who Owns the Land?

Land ownership is a decisive indicator of class character. In China, **the state owns** urban land; **the village collective owns rural land**. This "dual-track" model mirrors North Korea's constitutional structure: state ownership of urban/industrial land, cooperative ownership of rural agricultural land. In the USSR, Vietnam, Cuba, and Albania, **the state is the sole legal owner**. The diversity of forms **reflects diverse concrete conditions,** not a departure from socialism.

The Inescapable Conclusion

The evidence is conclusive: **China remains a socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat.** A socialist state cannot

be imperialist. Imperialism is the highest stage of "capitalism"—and China is not capitalist. Those who call China imperialist are not applying Lenin; they are abandoning him for bourgeois propaganda.

The Mechanism of the Accusation: A Confession of Ideology

The Bourgeois Kafkatrap

The accusation against China is a perfect example of what can be called a "bourgeois Kafkatrap"—a closed system of logic from which the socialist country cannot escape.

If China were poor and underdeveloped, the accusation would be: "See, socialism does not work." Now that China has lifted hundreds of millions out of poverty and achieved rapid technological and economic growth, **the accusation flips:** "See, it must be capitalist, and therefore imperialist."

This dual-bind is the **hallmark of bourgeois ideology**. It cannot conceive development without exploitation because exploitation is capitalism's only **historical experience**. It cannot imagine a power that rises to global significance without seeking to dominate, because domination is the only language of imperialism.

The accusation against China is not a scientific observation; it is a confession. It reveals that the accuser cannot conceive of a power that does not seek to dominate, because domination is the only language their own economic system speaks. They project the logic of imperialism onto a system that has structurally superseded it.

7.7-The Revival of Anti-Leninist Theories

The specific accusations of "imperialism" against China are **rooted in a deeper theoretical assault:** the revival of anti-Leninist theories that were supposedly settled decades ago.

"**If socialism cannot be built in one country**," then the existence of China, a socialist state that has survived and developed for over seven decades, is a theoretical impossibility **that must be explained away**. "If anti-imperialist struggles are obsolete," then **any resistance to US/NATO hegemony** is by definition illegitimate or retrograde.

If accepted, these two bourgeois theories would disarm the socialist movement completely. They are the theoretical foundation upon which the accusation of "Chinese imperialism" is built. Accepting the accusation means accepting **the entire anti-Leninist framework.**

7.8-The Role of Ideological Warfare

The struggle against socialism and socialist ideology has become an **organized project by external capitalist forces** with their internal agents, aiming at its destruction and/or revision in a way acceptable to the capitalists. The capitalists, who own the means of production, also own the "**means of mental production**"-media, education, culture-and they deploy these as weapons of war.

As we demonstrated in Chapter 1, the **CIA's funding of the Congress for Cultural Freedom**, the **cultivation of "anti-Stalinist leftists,"** and the promotion of "left" anti-communism created a **permanent Fifth Column** within the socialist

movement. Intelligence agencies repurposed Trotsky's accusations of "**bureaucratic deformation**" and "betrayal of the revolution," **gave** them institutional support, and transformed them into the foundation of a "**left**" **anti-communism** that persists to this day.

The accusation against China directly continues this tradition. **It is not a product of scientific research but of organized propaganda.** The "left" critics of China are, objectively, serving imperialist propaganda—**whether consciously or not.**

7.8-The Violation of Marxist Norms of Criticism

The accusation of "Chinese imperialism" violates every norm of Marxist-Leninist criticism.

Marxist criticism is scientific, based on objective analysis of concrete conditions. It is constructive, which removes error to build proletarian truth. It is comradely conducted through proper channels, with respect for sovereignty. It is focused on **one's "own" bourgeoisie**, not on fellow socialists abroad.

What the accusers' "criticism" is that it is **subjective,** based on bourgeois sources, not concrete knowledge. It is **destructive,** designed to discredit **rather than build**. It is directed outward, focusing on other countries' communist parties **while ignoring their own national struggles.**

As Lunacharsky stated: "Marxist criticism is a science because it opposes subjectivism... Criticism, by its nature, cannot be only negative... The Marxist critic 'removes' the wrong conception in order to form one that meets the interests of the proletariat." The condemnation of China as "imperialist" does not meet these

criteria. **It is not scientific, objective, or constructive**. It is a **weapon of ideological warfare.**

One may j**ustifiably argue about the Chinese Government's "chauvinism,"** which is the path to imperialism, **but not** without any solid evidence that that path has **already reached its destination.**

The Strategic Implications of the accusation

For the Anti-Imperialist Movement

China is the largest, most powerful socialist state on earth. Its survival and development under seventy-five years of US-led encirclement is one of the greatest achievements of the international working class in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. **To weaken it with reckless accusations** is to weaken the entire anti-imperialist camp.

The task of Marxist-Leninists **is not to police the purity of socialist states from a comfortable distance**. It is to defend them against imperialist attack, to study their concrete conditions, to learn from their successes and failures, and to **fight for socialism in their own countries.** That is the only path **consistent with proletarian internationalism.**

For Marxist-Leninist Theory

Lenin's theory of imperialism remains scientifically valid-but it must be **applied dialectically**. The "form" of imperialist conflict has changed (proxy wars, economic warfare, cyber warfare), but the **"essence" remains**. War is still inevitable as long as

capitalism exists. Imperialism is still the highest stage of capitalism. Finance capital still drives global competition.

Those who pronounce Lenin's theory "outdated" or misapply it by calling a socialist state "imperialist" are **abandoning Marxism.** They are not defenders of Leninism; they are **inheritors of the Kautskyite-Bernsteinist tradition** that Lenin criticized over a century ago. They hide behind "ultra-left" slogans while serving the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

For the Ideological Struggle

The distinction between **ideological struggle and ideological warfare is not academic**—it is the key to effective resistance. The enemy's method is to divide, confuse, and turn socialists against each other. **Recognizing ideological warfare is the first condition for victory.**

Marxist-Leninists must recognize that ideological criticism of fellow socialist parties is only **legitimate when it is constructive,** comradely, and conducted through appropriate channels. Public denunciation, particularly from abroad, violates Marxist norms and serves capitalist interests.

Genuine internationalism requires focusing on one's own national struggle while supporting others materially and through solidarity-not through pontification. **Lenin's** injunction remains definitive: "**He is an internationalist who combats his own bourgeoisie.**"

7.9-Final Synthesis: Who Truly Defies Lenin?

The Inescapable Conclusion

The answer to whether China is imperialist, reached through dialectical materialism, scientific definition, and empirical testing, is a resounding **"NO".** China is not an imperialist country by **Lenin's scientific definition**.

China is a socialist **state** under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It does not meet any of Lenin's seven conditions for a scientific concept of imperialism. The accusation against it is a product of ideological warfare, rooted in a violation of Marxist-Leninist norms of criticism and a fundamental misunderstanding of Lenin's scientific work.

The Accusers' Confession

Those who call China imperialist are not applying Lenin; **they are abandoning him for bourgeois propaganda.** Their accusation **confesses their own ideology**. It reveals that they cannot conceive of a world beyond exploitation, because exploitation underpins their worldview.

The accusation is not about China—it is about the accuser's own **inability to see beyond capitalism.** They project the logic of imperialism onto a system that has structurally superseded it. The trap they have constructed is designed to validate their anti-Leninist "socialism in one country is impossible" theory and ensure that socialism can never succeed in any country in their eyes. But the trap reveals more about the trappers than about the target.

7.10-Correct Action

Marxist-Leninists must:

1. “Expose the bourgeois nature of the accusation”: The accusation that China is imperialist is not a scientific observation; **it is a weapon of ideological warfare**;

2. “Return to the **principles of genuine internationalism**”: Combating “our own” bourgeoisie, **not slandering socialist states;**

3. “**Defend socialist states** against imperialist attack”: While offering fraternal, constructive **criticism where it is due**;

4.“Apply the dialectical method”: Concrete analysis of concrete conditions, not abstract formulas or learned-by-rote slogans.

"The revolution is not a sterile and abstract process," Lenin taught, "**it is a living and concrete process.**" Those who apply Leninist theory mechanically, without understanding the concrete conditions to which it must be applied, are not Leninists at all. They are dogmatists who have abandoned the dialectical method.

7.11-Final Words

This book has attempted to demonstrate that the question of whether China is imperialist **cannot be answered through slogans, gossip, or abstract formulas**. It requires the full weight of Marxist-Leninist method: dialectical materialism, concrete analysis, scientific definition, and proletarian internationalism.

The answer, reached through this method, is clear: China is not imperialist. The accusation is a weapon of ideological warfare,

not a scientific conclusion. Those who wield it are not defending Leninism—they are abandoning it. However, as noted in the previous chapter, "*the pressure to become one through defensive chauvinism hardening into offensive social-imperialism, is immense.*"

The task before us **is not to police the purity of socialist states** from a comfortable distance. It is to defend them against imperialist attack, to study their concrete conditions, to learn from their successes and failures, and to fight for socialism in our own countries. That is the only path consistent with proletarian internationalism. That is the path Lenin taught, and that is the path we must follow.

“"He is an internationalist who in a really internationalist way combats his own bourgeoisie, his own social-chauvinists, his own Kautskyites."“ *Lenin*

"The correct Leninist course demands deeds, not words." **Enver Hoxha**

The dialectical rule is that **nothing remains static**; the only constant is change, for everything moves either backward or forward. The conflict between opposing forces drives all change, and nothing exists in complete isolation from its surroundings. Bearing this in mind, **Marxist-Leninists base their concrete assessments not on assumptions** about the future, but on the concrete **conditions and circumstances at hand.** This means change is inevitable for China, but we cannot predict **whether it will move backward or forward**; changes in **fundamental principles** and practices may be the only indicator of its direction. Depending on changing conditions, the "**four pillars of the socialist state**" may shift backward or forward. If changes are negative

during a period of economic boom, this can be considered **a step backward**. Dialectically, the boom itself is not an external condition, but an **expression of the existing relations of production.** Therefore, a negative change during an economic boom is **particularly significant** because prosperity does not make a system immune to decline; on the contrary, it reveals the political character of the explosion depending on **whether it strengthens the dictatorship** of the proletariat and its institutional bodies, or whether **it begins to play a restraining or opposing role to this dictatorship.** The economic indicator **is never** the ultimate arbiter; it is the class content of growth.

However, these are not **fundamental principles;** deviation from them is considered a backtrack, or, in ML terms, **"restoration"**. But "Principles are not an aim, a program, a tactic or a theory. Tactics and theory are not principles… The **principles of communism consist in the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat** and in the use of state coercion in the transition period." *Lenin, Speech In Defense Of The Tactics Of The Communist International*

If the principle is the dictatorship of the proletariat and the use of state coercion in the transition period, then the fundamental question for any concrete assessment **is not** "**has the policy changed**?" but "**whose class interest does the state coercively enforce**, and in whose interest is the coercion **suspended or redirected?**" That is the immutable question underlying the changing conditions. If the coercive apparatus of the state -its legal system, its security organs, its economic planning mechanisms- begins to operate increasingly in the interest of a new propertied

class, then that is not a "tactical shift"; **it is a qualitative change in the principle itself**, even if the old terminology is retained.

We cannot predict; **we can only analyze the concrete conditions at hand**, and the most concrete condition of all is the **real relationship between** the state's coercive power and the working class. The direction **is not written in the stars**, nor in the GDP curve, but **in the daily material reality of who gives the orders**, who obeys, and **who benefits from them.**

Note

The data on China, North Korea, and Vietnam were collected through DeepSeek search links. I acknowledge using DeepSeek for research, data, fine-tuning, and playing “devil’s advocate” to develop possible counter-arguments and pro-actively strengthen my quotes and arguments.

As the Qualitative Criteria of Socialism,
Marxism-Leninism defines socialism
not by the "presence or absence" of markets or private property,
or by the degree of socialist economic development,
but by the "class character of the state".

"Commodity production under socialism is a special form of commodity production, which does not lead to capitalism, because it is under the control of the state." Stalin

"If the political power in the state is in the hands of a class whose interests coincide with those of the majority, that state can really be governed according to the will of the majority." Lenin

"The question is not whether there is commodity production or exchange under socialism.
The question is whether the state power is in the hands of the working class,whether the state power is used for the socialist construction of the economy." Stalin

Marxist-Leninists base their concrete assessments not on assumptions about the future, but on the concrete conditions and circumstances at hand.

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